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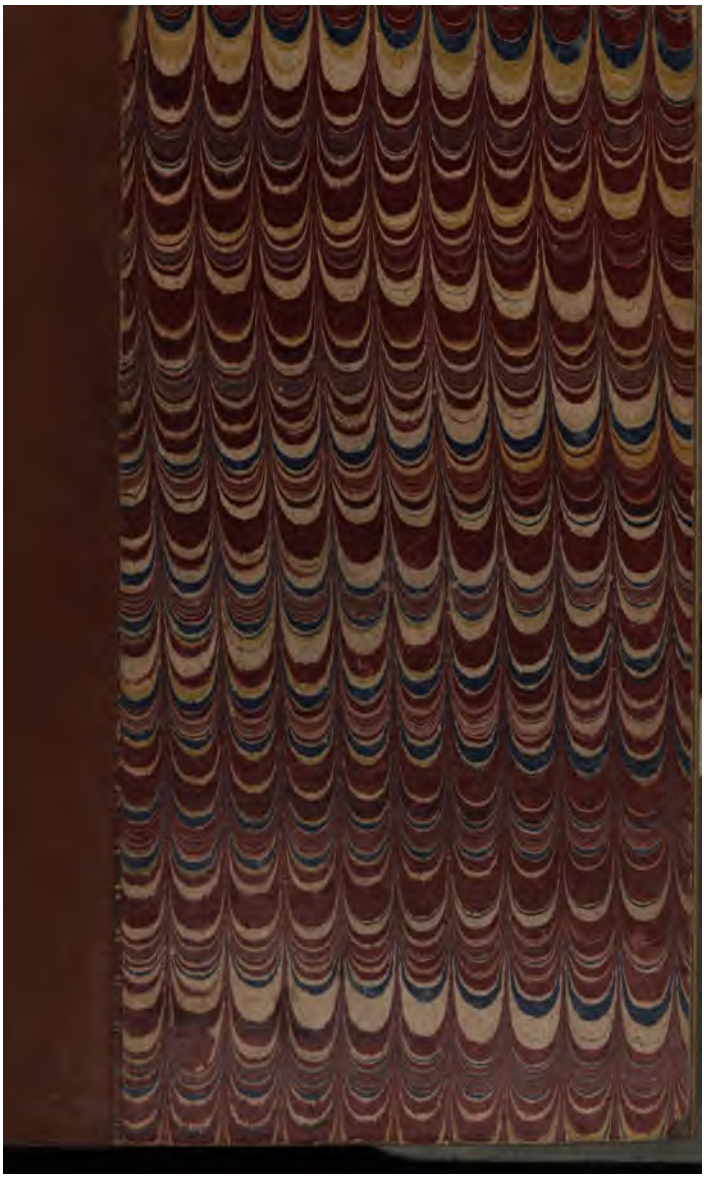

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THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARY.

III.

ANDREW KIM, OR, THE MARTYRS OF COREA

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BURNS AND LAMBERT, 17 PORTMAN STREET,
PORTMAN SQUARE.
READER, PARK STREET, BRISTOL.

56.] 1853. [Price

141 f. 507.

III. Andrew Kim; or, the Martyrs of Corea.

The Catholic Church is the mother of martyrs. She alone can boast of bearing this undoubted mark of being the real spouse of Christ. It is true that there have been those who were strangers to her fold, and even enemies to her claims, who have died rather than renounce the opinions they had adopted. There have been obstinate men who preferred death to giving up their own religious views, and high-minded men who were willing to part with life rather than deny their convictions; but a martyr is one who sheds his blood *for the faith;* that faith which he holds on the infallible word of God, made known to him by the Church, to whom God has revealed it. To die for our opinions held on our private judgment, is not to die a martyr's death. Keep this real meaning of the term *martyr* in view, and you will readily perceive that the so-called 'Protestant martyrs,' who died in defence of the new opinions they introduced and held on no higher authority than their own or that of some other individual, cannot claim that glorious title which their descendants desire to award to them.

Protestantism, as such, never produces martyrs. However, it may be said that good Protestants, and such (we hope there are many) who are in a state of invincible ignorance, that is, ignorance for which they are not to blame, do believe firmly various Christian truths, and may possibly, therefore, become martyrs for them. No doubt, they may. I do not deny the possibility of such cases; but even granting that faith may exist outside the visible Church, yet love is weak and languishing. It is love makes martyrs; and *that love is learnt in* its warmth and in its heroism only by *the child of holy* Church in the warmth of his mother's

fond embrace. It is she who teaches him to love Jesus with a love stronger than death, and which many waters cannot quench. It is she who teaches him not only to die rather than deny his faith, but to brave tortures and death to propagate it. For a proof we need but point to heathen lands, and compare the missionary labours of the Church and of the unhappy separatists. They have missionaries, and so have we; but where are they to be found? Protestant missionaries are to be met with only where Christianity can be preached without bodily risk. Catholic missionaries are to be met with every where, not only where they are welcomed or tolerated, but where privation, persecution, and death await them. Another equally remarkable circumstance is this, that not only does the missionary offer his life as a willing victim for the love of Him who died for sinners, but he trains up martyrs too. The newly baptised, the scarcely instructed heathen, who has just received the mere rudiments of the faith, but the love of which has sunk deep into his untutored heart, rises up, as in the early days of Christianity, to claim the martyr's crown of glory. He casts away his idols; but not that alone—he embraces the cross. The Protestant can, it is true, sometimes prevail upon the poor heathen to despise or forsake the superstition of his fathers; but, by his own confession, he fails in persuading him cordially to embrace the truths he presents to him. As for a Protestant convert from heathenism facing martyrdom, I suppose that is a thing utterly unknown. It is much if he do not learn from his new teachers utterly to disbelieve, where before he only believed erroneously. He was a pagan; he becomes a sceptic.

I am about to give you a short account of the martyrdom of a young Christian priest in a distant land, which occurred but a few years ago; and I have purposely selected one who was himself a native of the country and not a European, the better to exhibit the fruit which our holy religion bears in all lands. The country to which I am about to transport you is called Corea. It is a peninsula stretching north-east of China, and is a dependency of that great empire. The Coreans are given up to the worship of countless number of idols, and are the prey of many

ing scourges, which have greatly thinned the population. Among these we must reckon pestilence and famine, as well as the ravages of wild beasts, whose numbers are truly frightful, and which, it is said, devour at least one thousand of the population yearly. But the miserable divisions of this unhappy people, and their want of energy form, one of the principal causes of their wretched state. The country has been divided for years between two rival factions; and whichever can succeed in placing a king on the throne, wreaks its fury on the partisans of the other side, and on all whom they have favoured, however inoffensive their conduct may be. Many persecutions against the Christians—for Christianity has penetrated into this dark region—have had no other cause than this, that they had been tolerated by the opposite faction. On these occasions Christian blood flowed in torrents. Then, however, have men seen what a change the true faith can work in the heart that receives it. The degraded Corean, exhibiting usually no spirit or energy, save in persecuting the Christian, become a new man in Christ, has bent his neck with holy joy to the executioner's sword. Even children have come forward begging to die with their mothers; the very judges fearlessly confessed the faith, and offered their hands to fetters; princesses descended with Christian fortitude into loathsome dungeons, and endured untold tortures, such as pagan fury, urged on by the devil, alone can invent, and then knelt meekly down with their slaves to receive the eternal crown of martyrdom.

We may form some idea of the difficulties with which the Christian converts have had to contend in this country, even under the most favourable circumstances, when there has been a cessation of active persecution, from the following facts. They are unable to assemble for the purposes of devotion, since they would be instantly attacked; and if a priest come among them in the towns, he is seized the moment his disguise is detected. Moreover, the Christians are very generally forced to abandon their only means of *subsistence.* Many are workers in silver, copper, &c., or *perhaps they are cabinet*-makers; hence they are constantly *forced to make objects* of superstition or idolatrous wor-

ship. They must on such occasions either violate their consciences, or expose their faith to immediate discovery, which is the signal for handing them over to the judge. The poor Christians, therefore, mostly quit the cities, and live in barren deserts, preferring rather poverty and the company of wild beasts with Jesus Christ, to the perils their faith encounters in the midst of abundance. Hundreds have thus perished annually from famine and misery. Does not this heroic detachment of heart from the world, this jealous guarding of the precious treasure of the faith, bring to shame our lukewarmness and indifference to danger in these matters, where some little worldly comfort or advantage is concerned? In these dreary solitudes the priest finds it easier to visit his flock. But I have not yet mentioned their chief distress—and I may well call it so, for it is a spiritual, not a bodily affliction; I mean the difficulty which meets the missionary in his endeavour to enter this inhospitable country. I do not mean the ordinary difficulty wherever our holy faith meets with persecution, which of course falls with its most bitter fury on the priest, but some peculiar obstacles which exist with respect to Corea. The Chinese and the Coreans detest each other, and the communication between them is consequently very limited. The two territories are divided by a neutral and desert tract of land, fifteen leagues broad. Most of this is covered with thick and impenetrable forests, the undisturbed domain of the tiger and other fierce animals, and there are in fact only two points of contact: one is a road through the woods ending at the sea of Japan; the other, more southerly, is not far from the shores of the Yellow Sea. An embassy from the King of Corea to the Emperor of China passes twice a year along this latter road; once to wish him a happy new year, and the other time to ask him for the calendar. The government of Corea knowing that missionaries had passed this way, a few years ago doubled its precautions to prevent any stranger from entering the country; a great object with them at all times, owing to their national antipathy to their neighbours. Over a long extent of the Corean frontier, posts of soldiers are placed at stated distances; and woe to the stranger who should attempt to penetrate without a

his frozen feet could hardly support him, and his lips, swollen by the cold, could scarcely articulate. About to be seized and taken before the mandarin, his presence of mind, humanly speaking, delivered him from this peril.

In 1844 we find him wandering for two months in the vast forests of Manchouria, in the midst of ice and snow, on the northern frontier of Corea, in the hope of opening an inlet in this quarter to the missioners. Here he at last met with Christians, and engaged with them to meet the Vicar Apostolic towards the close of the year at the southern boundary, of which we have already spoken, to act as guides to the Bishop, who had been seeking for some years to join his flock. At the appointed time, Dr. Ferreol and Andrew, now a deacon, repaired to the place of meeting. But out of seven Christians who had agreed to meet them, only three succeeded in crossing the frontier, and this was but to declare the utter impossibility of the Bishop's effecting an entrance. Dr. Ferreol, however, persuaded them to allow Andrew to accompany them on their return; and settled with him that he should, if possible, equip a junk in his own country, and repair in it to Chang-hai on the Chinese coast, where the Bishop was to meet him. Under cover of the night, our young hero slipped between the custom-houses unperceived, having sent his Christian guides forward to meet him at an appointed station. And now again we find him in hunger, cold, fatigue, and watchings, wandering about amidst deep drifts of snow, missing his guides at the place of meeting; and while a prey to the gloomiest apprehensions concerning their fate, comforting himself with the thoughts of Mary's protection, and whiling away the hours of suffering and suspense by saying his rosary.

Patience and courage, with the blessing of God, overcome all difficulties. He reached the capital of Corea in safety, but suffering severely in health. Here he remained closely concealed, and purchased a junk, without, however, *venturing to tell* his crew the distance they had to sail, or *the country to* which they were proceeding. Nor can you *wonder, when I* remind you that Coreans landing in China *re sent home after* strict examination, unless any thing is

proved against them, in which case they are put to death. The profession of Christianity was quite sufficient to insure this sentence. Add to this, that the bark was of the shape of a large tub or shoe, having been intended only for river-sailing, and that the crew had never been on the high seas; most of them, indeed, knew nothing even of inland navigation. Fortunately, in their simplicity, they believed Andrew to be a first-rate pilot. The young missionary's studies, as may be readily supposed, had not led him to the acquirement of much nautical knowledge; yet he fearlessly embarked on a stormy ocean, with nothing save a little pocket-compass, in an unwieldly punt, with twelve ignorant landsmen. But he was strong in divine faith and love. "I hope," he said, "that, mindful of her love, the Blessed Virgin Mary, the best of mothers, will conduct us safe and sound." He had with him in the bark a holy picture of her who is truly called "the Star of the Sea," and he felt strong also in the protection of his father, uncle, and granduncle, all martyrs for Jesus. His mother even was a martyr in desire, having wished to deliver herself to the persecutors, who, fearful of being thronged by women and children rushing to martyrdom, forbade their arrest.

A fearful storm assailed them, and better barks than their clumsy craft went down. Andrew, seeing his crew aghast with terror, held up to them the picture of Mary. "Behold her who protects us. Fear nothing. We shall reach Chang-hai, and we shall see our Bishop." And so they did. A Chinese junk, on the promise of a good sum of money, consented to take them in tow, and they safely reached their destination. *Safely* in one sense; but Andrew well knew what he had to apprehend. Corean barks never seek Chinese ports, and he himself had been denounced to the authorities every where. Fortunately, some English vessels were at that time at Chang-hai; Andrew immediately claimed their protection, and thus supported, proceeded to deal with the mandarin of the port with a high hand,—the only method, I may remark, of bringing these cruel but timid tyrants to reason. A good *priest, whom Andrew* wrote to on his arrival, repaired *immediately to him* to satisfy the spiritual and temporal n

of the little company of Christians. "Imagine," he says, writing to another father, "the consolation I experienced in beholding myself in the midst of twelve Christians, almost all fathers, sons, or relations of martyrs. One of them had had nearly his whole family immolated for the Saviour's cause, including his little son of eleven years of age." Six or seven years had elapsed since these noble confessors had seen a priest; the three last missioners of Corea, all natives of France—that country which has been, and still is, so prodigal of her blood in the conversion of the heathen—having been cruelly put to death in 1839. They were, therefore, earnestly desirous to receive the sacrament of penance; and though it was explained to them, that since their confessions had to pass through an interpreter (Andrew acting as such), they would be valid even though made in a more general way, every one of them fervently replied, "It is such a long time since we confessed, we wish to tell all."

The poor junk having been suitably prepared, the holy missionary then offered the Adorable Sacrifice. Oh, what a joy to these good servants of Christ, after so long a privation, to be able to partake in the divine mysteries! But what was their joy also at beholding their Bishop, who hastened to them, and at receiving his blessing! Before setting sail for Corea, Dr. Ferreol ordained the young deacon priest, and Andrew celebrated his first Mass. What a hopeful and glorious day! Here is the first Corean priest, young, zealous, full of talents, and gifted with indomitable courage. Surely God has reserved a long career of usefulness to this first native apostle of Corea. But God's thoughts are far other than ours, and He often accomplishes His purposes by the very means which seem to human eyes to overthrow them. But a few months more, and the young priest shall finish his earthly course, and crown his short but full labours by shedding his blood for his Lord.

With much difficulty and risk, our little party secretly set sail, bearing to Corea her long-expected Bishop, another *holy father,* and her first native priest. The voyage was *ull of perils. Could it be* otherwise in such a boat? Stuck *ther with wooden pegs,* with nothing which deserved

the name of a deck, and drenched by every wave. And then consider what a crew! twelve men, almost all taken from cultivating the soil to navigate the ocean in this crazy boat; rightly compared, as I have remarked, to a *shoe*. The bark, however, had received the name of the *Raphael*. How could it have been placed under better protection than that of the sweet and gracious angel who accompanied and guarded Tobias on his journey!

Passing over the adventures of their voyage, behold our friends landing at last, at night-fall, in an insulated situation, where some Christians met them when apprised of their arrival. But we must omit all particulars of the dangers and labours in which the three holy missioners were engaged after they landed on a soil which had already drunk the blood of so many martyrs, to carry you on to the glorious triumph of our young Christian hero. It was on the 12th of October, 1845, that the little party landed on the Corean shore; and it is on the 3d of November, 1846, that we find the Bishop, Dr. Ferreol, writing, "Martyrs again this year, and illustrious martyrs!" At the head of these was the young priest, Andrew Kim.

At a certain time of the year Chinese boats resort to a particular station on the coast to fish; but the Coreans do not permit them to land. Andrew was employed on this occasion to communicate with some of the Chinese junks, with a view to facilitating the transmission of letters. After executing his commission he was about to return, when a mandarin came on board, demanding the use of his bark to be employed in keeping off the Chinese junks. Andrew, whom his people had, for security's sake, passed off as a noble, which class is all-powerful in Corea, thought it more prudent to refuse, lest by losing consideration he should injure the success of future expeditions. This led to his arrest. The officials, being thirty in number, thought they would not all be put to death, if, by mistake, they arrested a noble, though very possibly two or three might be executed for such an offence. Having therefore seized and questioned two of the sailors, whose replies awakened suspicion, they returned on board the junk, accompanied by several women, who, together with them, rushed

Andrew like furies. They seized and tore off part of his hair, bound his hands with a rope, and kicked and beat him cruelly. Screened by the darkness, the remaining sailors slipped into the long-boat and rowed off. How do the sufferings of the martyrs recall to us, even in minute particulars, the sufferings of Jesus, the King of martyrs!

Stripped of his clothes, and again beaten and derided, Andrew was dragged before the tribunal, where crowds of the curious had assembled. The mandarin then asked him at once, "Are you a Christian?" "I am," was his reply.

"Why do you practise this religion contrary to the orders of the sovereign? Renounce it." "I practise my religion because it is the true one; it teaches me to honour God, and conducts to eternal happiness: as to apostasy, I know not the word."

For this reply he instantly received a severe beating. The judge resumed: "If you do not apostatise, I shall have you beaten to death." "As you will," replied the confessor; "but I shall never abandon my God." He proceeded boldly to speak to them of a just God, the rewarder of good and the punisher of evil; and concluded by thanking them for his torments, and praying in return for a blessing on his persecutors. The mandarin and the whole assembly burst out into coarse laughter. A *cangue* was then brought, eight feet in length. It is a heavy and painful collar, placed upon criminals in China and Corea. Andrew seized it joyfully, and himself fitted it upon his neck. To him its heavy weight was as nothing, viewing it as the yoke he bore for the love of Christ, and remembering the heavy cross which the Son of God carried for the love of us. The laughter was redoubled; and amidst the derision of his tormentors he was led to prison, where two of his sailors, who had apostatised from fear, were already confined. Pinioned, so that he could neither walk, sit, nor stretch himself out, the word of God in his mouth was not bound. He continued in prison to be an apostle *to the inquisitive crowd*, who constantly besieged him, and *to whom he ceased* not to preach Jesus.

Again remanded before the mandarin, he was ques-

tioned concerning his country; and, after five days, he was despatched to the capital of the province, and brought before the governor, who addressing many questions to him, Andrew seized the opportunity to speak of God, of the soul, of heaven, and of hell. The governor and his officials replied, "What you say is reasonable; but the king does not allow people to be Christians." He then asked him about the converts and the mission; but Andrew, after the example of His Divine Master, avoided any reply which might compromise his disciples. He was then threatened with tortures if he refused to speak the truth; upon which, embracing these dreadful instruments, which lay before him, ready to be applied to their barbarous use, "Here, I am ready," he said; "strike; I do not dread your torments." The description of these instruments is almost too painful to read; suffice it to say, that some of them are employed to break, dislocate, or stretch the limbs, others to tear off the flesh in pieces; while there is another which upraises the victim by the hair, causing him to kneel on sharp points of broken earthenware, while a cruel scourging is inflicted on him. It seems that his persecutors, believing tortures would have no power over his heroic spirit, but merely serve to confound their malice, did not proceed to try their efficacy; but they applied them to the two Christians already mentioned, whose apostasy did not avail to shield them from this infliction. These men, under the violence of pain, betrayed others of their party, and confessed that Andrew had communicated with the Chinese junks, and had even despatched letters by one of them.

Taken back to his prison, guarded by four soldiers, who never left him, with the *cangue* round his neck, chained by his hands and feet, and insulted by his jailers with coarse jokes, Andrew endured untold miseries. He was finally sent to the capital, and was exposed on the road to excessive fatigue and much suffering, while the importunate crowd thronged him as he went, habited as a felon of the worst class. On reaching his destination he was cast into the prison reserved for thieves. Brought before the judges the *next day, and feeling* certain that he must be shortly identified, *he confessed* his name, his education at Macao, an

his subsequent attempts to re-enter his country. The judges and spectators pitied him, and said, "Poor young man! he has been in trouble from his childhood." But for all their compassion, they were not the less resolved to perform the king's command. Theirs was the choice of Pilate. Reason and pity availed nothing. Afterwards questioned concerning his doctrine, Andrew preached at length to them, when the judges replied, "Your religion is good, and so is ours." "Why do you not, then, leave us to practise it in peace?" rejoined the prisoner of Jesus. They replied only by a silly laugh, to give him to understand that men in power were not required to give good reasons for their actions.

On the 16th of September, 1846, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, Andrew was led forth to die, condemned, like our martyred priests in England, as an enemy of the state. A file of soldiers, armed with muskets, marched to the place of execution, a league without the city. Immediately a discharge of musketry and the sound of the trumpet announced the arrival of a great military mandarin. Andrew was now brought out from prison, and borne to the place of his martyrdom in a straw chair, his hands pinioned behind him. A stake had been fastened in the ground, from the summit of which a banner waved. The soldiers formed a circle round it. Within this circle the prisoner was received, when the mandarin read to him his sentence to this effect: that he was condemned to death for having communicated with strangers. When Andrew heard these words, he cried out with a loud voice, "If I have communicated with strangers, it is for my religion; it is for God; it is for Him I die. I am about to enter on an immortal life. Become Christians, if you wish to be happy after death; for God reserves eternal punishment for such as disown Him." Thus with his last breath did the generous martyr endeavour to win souls to God.

They now stripped off part of his clothing, and pierced both his ears with an arrow, which they left suspended in *them*. They then threw water over him and a handful of *lime; and two men*, passing a stick under his arms, took *him on their shoulders*, and bore him quickly three times

round the circle. Then making him kneel down, they tied a rope to his hair, passing it through a hole bored in the stake. Meanwhile the martyr lost nothing of his heavenly calm. "Am I placed properly?" he said to the executioners; "can you strike at your ease?" "No; turn that way. Now that's right." "Strike, I am ready." O blessed martyr! truly might he indeed say with St. Paul, "I am ready to be offered." Happy those who can truly say, "I am ready."

A dozen soldiers, armed with sabres, now skirmished round him in mock combat, striking the martyr's head as they passed by. His head did not fall till the eighth stroke. A satellite then placed it upon a small table, and presented it to the mandarin, who returned to report the execution at court.

Three days after Andrew's triumph, eight generous martyrs followed, one of whom had previously apostatised from fear, as already stated, but consoled the heart of Andrew, previous to his own martyrdom, by repenting of his criminal weakness. Two others had failed also on former occasions, but now generously atoned for it. The chief, by birth, of the little band, Charles Hiem, had his head struck off like Andrew Kim. He received ten sabre-strokes. His father had been martyred in 1809; his wife and son had expired in prison; his sister had been beheaded. In him his family became extinct, all martyred for Jesus; but their blood pleads in heaven for the country they watered with it, and shall raise up fresh children to the Church.

The seven others were strangled in prison, after having nearly expired under the blows of an enormous plank—a cruel mode of punishment inflicted on prisoners previously to their strangling. One of them received as many as sixty blows. Among them was the father of the pilot of Andrew's bark, who, till then a pagan, was cast into prison on account of his son's arrest. The unhappy young man having refused the grace of martyrdom, God transferred it to his father. No sooner did he find himself in shackles, than *he was seized* with a burning desire to die for the *gospel, with which* his previous acquaintance was so

slight. The judge, surprised at this determination in one whom he knew to be a pagan, asked him if he was acquainted with the commandments of God; to which the old man answered, that he was ignorant of them. The judge observed, that if such were the case, he could not be a Christian; to which the generous disciple of the cross replied, that among the children of a family some were large and some were small; some had intelligence, some as yet lacked it; that the larger knew their father best, but that all loved him. "I," he said, "am a child; I can scarcely babble: yet though I do not know God, I know He is my Father; this is why I love Him, and wish to die for Him." He had his desire. Andrew Kim instructed and baptised him in prison. At the moment of strangling he exclaimed, "O Jesus, my Master! I give you what I have—my soul and my body."

Four women were also martyred, one of whom received seventy blows of the plank. She was a slave, and had already been nearly beaten to death by her master for refusing to join in superstitious acts. How do such incidents vividly recall to us the early days of the Church! or rather may we not say, since the Church is ever young with an immortal youth, that the sword can never strike her, but we behold her suffer with all the fervour of her first love!

"The persecution," writes the holy Bishop, Dr. Ferreol, "has left us utterly bereft of able men; all our secrets are discovered, all the inlets are rigidly watched." Thus Corea looks desolate and robbed of those who could best serve her, and of him especially, her young, her zealous, her first priest. But it is not so. They are now where they can better serve her. Blessed Andrew Kim! and you, happy companions of his triumph, joined to the white-robed army, with the aureole of martyrdom encircling your brows, together you are now pleading for your country before the throne of God and of the Lamb. Such prayers cannot remain unanswered; but shall doubtless bring down abundant *graces* and blessings on the land of your birth and of *your martyrdom!*

Historical Library.

THE CRUSADES

AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES,

AND

A FEW WORDS ABOUT THE WALDENSES.

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87.] 1853. [Price

The Albigenses.

A story is told of Sir Robert Walpole, that on one occasion when his secretary proposed to read to him some work on history, he declined, saying that he preferred hearing something that was true, whereas *history he knew to be false.* His knowledge of the affairs of life, of the real motives and causes which led to public events, and of the way in which those events are described and accounted for in works that are given forth to the world as histories, had led him to this general conclusion,—that *all* histories are false. And it is a very common saying, that history is one vast conspiracy against the truth. Now without examining into the grounds of this charge generally, we may certainly say as much as this, that what the Protestant world calls history, and especially Ecclesiastical History, or the History of the Church, *is* neither more nor less than a conspiracy against the truth, a conspiracy against God's Church. It is a systematic attempt so to distort and misrepresent facts as to bring discredit upon the Popes and the Catholic Church. The war against the Albigenses, or the *crusade* against them, as it was commonly called, in the thirteenth century, is one of those facts which is thus habitually painted in false colours, and made the ground of accusation against the Church.

The Protestant version of this event in history runs thus: "although the corruptions of Popery crept into the Church in the very earliest times, insomuch that, as a Protestant Archdeacon once said, "primitive Christianity is nothing more nor less than modern Popery," yet there have never been wanting a few chosen witnesses to the

truth, "seven thousand who have never bowed the knee to Baal." These persons have sometimes been known by one name, sometimes by another, but generally a *bad* name; they have been branded as heretics; and as (according to the old proverb, "Give a dog a bad name, and hang him,") there is commonly but one step between a harsh name and injurious treatment, so these faithful few, whom the rest of Christendom chose to call heretics, have always, from the very first, been subjected to persecution, especially from the Bishops of Rome. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, these professors of pure gospel truth were to be found in large numbers in the South of France, where they were commonly known by the name of Albigenses. By this time the Papal power had reached its utmost height, and the Pope was determined to annihilate them once for all: they were persecuted to death by his order. A war which was called a holy or sacred war, a *crusade*, was proclaimed against them by the Bishop of Rome and his satellites; indulgences were promised to those who would take part in the war, which was continued for more than twenty years in the most bloody fashion, until the whole race was supposed to be exterminated. The Pope was mistaken however; some few yet survived, and from these sprung in time that great movement, called the Reformation; the Albigenses were the seed of the great Protestant family, now scattered all over the world, and if the Pope only had the same overwhelming power in the present day that he had in "the dark ages," he would treat all Protestants now, as he treated the Albigenses then."

This is the Protestant, or Exeter-Hall version of the story; now let me put before you the true history, which however cannot be so summarily told.

It appears to me that there are three points on which it is necessary that I should give you information, in order that you may be in a position rightly to understand the conduct of all parties concerned in this narrative. The broad fact which has to be explained and put in its true light, *is this: that* by order of the Pope a war was waged *in the beginning* of the thirteenth century against the *Albigenses in the* South of France. Now then, these Al-

tions arise; first, How came the Pope to have anything at all to do with the South of France? He is sovereign of the Papal States, or States of the Church, not of France. How came he to interfere in this matter at all? Secondly, Who were these Albigenses, and what was their crime? Why were they interfered with, and persecuted by *anybody?* Thirdly and lastly; supposing the Albigenses to have been deserving of punishment, supposing also that the Pope had a right to punish them, what were the actual circumstances of the case? Did he punish them with any extraordinary severity? What is the true history of the war? What did the Pope really do, and the Albigenses really suffer?

First then, how came the Pope to have anything to do with the punishment of people living in the South of France? To answer this question, I must attempt to give you some idea of the *political* condition of Europe at the time these crusades were undertaken. The Old Roman Empire, after having subjected to itself almost the whole of the known world, had long since been broken into pieces, and now formed a number of separate and independent kingdoms. But these kingdoms, although separate and independent in many particulars, were yet, in Europe at least, most closely united together in one, the most important particular of all; they were bound together in the unity of the same faith. They accepted Christianity as the foundation of their whole political system. It was in fact to Christianity that they were indebted for their very existence. When the Old Roman Empire was being broken up by the invasion of the barbarian hordes from the North, it was the Church, and in a special manner it was the Bishops of Rome, who saved Europe from utter barbarism. By converting the invaders to the Christian faith, they laid the foundation of a new order of society; an order of society based in all its essential elements on the Christian revelation.

Now surely, even Protestants themselves will acknowledge—Dr. Arnold, no mean Protestant authority, does acknowledge—*that* "a state may as justly declare the New *Testament to be its law* as it may choose the institutes and *code of Justinian,"* the code Napoleon, or any other. "In

this manner the law of Christ's Church may be made the law of the State; and all the institutions which this law enjoins, whether in ritual or discipline, may be adopted as national institutions just as legitimately as any institutions of mere human origin."* Now the different states of Europe in the middle ages had, as a matter of fact, adopted the laws of Christ's Church to be their own law. It was a part of the compact between the people and the sovereign, and of the oath taken by the sovereign at his coronation, "that he would maintain and defend the Christian faith, and the Church which was the depository of that faith, the pillar and the ground of the truth." As early as the year 638, it was decreed by the bishops and nobles of Spain, assembled together in the sixth Council of Toledo, that none but a Catholic should ever sit upon the throne of that country. In the German code of laws it was provided that every prince who did not uphold the Christian faith should be excommunicated, and that if he continued in his disobedience for more than a year, he should be deposed. Nay more, it was even a part of the ordinary oath taken by every knight on his receipt of that title, that he would defend the faith and suffer a thousand deaths rather than forsake or deny it. In a word, Christianity was, in fact, the supreme law of all Christian Europe—it was the rule both of princes and people; not only did individuals acknowledge it as the law whereby they were bound to order all their actions in private life, but nations also professed it as their rule of conduct, both in their internal legislation among their own citizens, and also in their public and collective dealings with other states. The integrity of the faith, the unity of the Church, was the great fundamental law of all European states.

We are not now enquiring whether this state of things *ought to have been*. I certainly think that it *ought*, and that it was a very blessed thing for the world that such a state of things *did* prevail then. I think that, but for this, society would (humanly speaking) have been destroyed, and the *world would have* relapsed into its ancient barbarism. *This however is no part* of our present enquiry. All I

* *Appendix to* Inaugural Lecture on Modern History.

it concerns me just now to insist upon is this, that such conditions as these actually formed part of the compact in virtue of which sovereigns then ruled in Europe, and that they could not be disregarded without the breach of a most solemn engagement and oath, for which breach the certain and ordained punishment was deposition and the forfeiture of all their rights and privileges. Christian Europe at the time we are speaking of acknowledged but one religion, had but one law, formed as it were but one great family, at the head of which was the ruler of the Christian Church, the successor of St. Peter, the Vicar of Christ. If anybody violated that law, and disregarded the obligations by which he was bound, it was the duty of the Pope to remind him of his obligations, to recall him to a sense of his duty, and, if need be, to punish him for his neglect of it. And although to our modern notions, this political supremacy (so to call it) of the Popes may seem an usurpation of the rights of kings and an act of tyranny, in the middle ages it was looked upon in a very different point of view. Then, the people regarded it as their great safeguard and protection against all injustice on the part of their rulers; and the rulers saw in it their surest defence against disobedience and rebellion on the part of their subjects. In a word, the Papacy was at that time the very key-stone of the arch on which the fabric of society depended, and it was universally felt to be such.

You see, then, that, according to the political law of that age, circumstances might well have arisen which called for the interference of the Pope in France, Germany, England, or any other part of Europe. And this being established, we come now to the next point which we proposed to consider; namely, who were these Albigenses, and what were they doing, that they should require to be interfered with at all? In other words, were the circumstances of the times such as called for the exercise of this acknowledged right of the Papacy, to interfere in behalf of the interests of the faith *and of* society in a foreign country, that is, in a country *not immediately subject* to his own temporal dominion? *Of this I think you* will have no doubt, when you hear *who and what these* Albigenses really were.

We find it indeed stated in some Protestant publications that they were good, pious and peaceable members of society, only *too* good for the age in which they lived; that it was their misfortune to preach a purer faith, and to practise a more excellent code of morals than their neighbours, who, therefore, vilified and persecuted them; that they "suffered persecution for justice' sake," or, as we find it written in one of those books to which I refer, "because they held opinions different from those of the Romish hierarchy." Now, that they held opinions different from those of the Romish hierarchy, is undoubtedly true; but let us see *how* different they were.

It was in the third century of the Christian era, that there arose a heresy, called, after the name of its founder, Manicheanism. This heresy was not like many others, which, whilst retaining the great bulk of the doctrines of Christianity, only perverted or denied some one particular point, as for instance, the union of two natures in the person of our Lord; but rather it went to destroy the entire system of the Christian revelation; to substitute for the Gospel a monstrous system of errors, utterly destructive of all social order and morality. Thus, the professors of this heresy aught that there were two independent principles, or reators, which had existed from all eternity; the one eing the author of all good, the other of all evil. To the tter they attributed the law of Moses and the whole of e old Testament, our bodies and all matter. The Ination of our Lord, therefore, they denied; and with he doctrines of the Atonement, of the Resurrection of body and of everlasting punishment. They denied the doctrine of free-will, and said that everything ruled by fate, thus sapping the foundations of all lity by destroying distinction between good and They rejected the sacraments of Baptism and Holy Eucharist as administered by the Church, ubstituted for them most horrible and impious rites r own invention. Marriage also they rejected, giving *lves up to the* most revolting licentiousness in their *octurnal assemblies*, but teaching that it was not *beget children*. In a word, the doctrines of this *erfectly diabolical*, and such as not even pagan

princes could allow to be publicly taught in their dominions. Emperors of all religions, pagan, heretical and Christian, were, from the first, all of one mind in persecuting, banishing, and even putting to death the Manichees. Nevertheless in spite of the severity employed against them, they found means secretly to propagate their doctrines and to increase the number of their disciples in various parts of the world. Some they seduced by the bait of sensual pleasures which actually formed a part of their religion; others were imposed upon by the semblance of austerity which their abstaining from marriage and their severe fasts gave them in the eyes of the uninitiated multitude.

This heresy originally began in Persia, and was carried by the founder himself into many parts of Asia. Not long afterwards it was brought into the West, where it ensnared many souls. Even the great St. Augustine was held captive by it for nine or ten years. We find it in Spain also before the end of the fourth century, and it continually re-appears here and there, in various parts both of Europe and Asia, almost in a continued succession. Very early in the eleventh century, there were some of this sect in Orleans, where by order of King Robert they were burnt; so also in Toulouse; a few years later, the Emperor of Germany discovered them in Goslar, a city of Suabia, and he immediately ordered them to be hanged. It is in the beginning of the twelfth century, however, that we are more interested in their history; and at that time they seem to have re-appeared both in the North and South of France, simultaneously and by a preconcerted arrangement. For this sect was no mere disorderly collection of unruly fanatics, rebelling against the authority of the Church, each one by himself, and only bound to his companions by the sympathy of a common misbelief: on the contrary, they were a compact, organized body, under a pseudo-hierarchy, the very counterpart of that which Christ has established in His Church, with a chief calling himself Pope at its head, and bishops, priests and deacons, in regular subordination, to sow the baneful seed of their heresy wherever there seemed the fairest prospect of an abundant harvest. The irregular lives of the clergy, the simony, and other abuses which were so rife in various parts of the Church at

this time seemed to present a most favourable opportunity for the spread of every kind of error, and the Manicheans were astute enough to make the most of such an occasion. Not to speak of Tanquelin, who seduced the people of Liege, Antwerp, and other cities of Flanders by his false teaching during a period of nine or ten years, there was an apostate monk, named Henri, who went out from the South of France, in the garb of a hermit, barefooted, and leading a life seemingly of great austerity, and preached the doctrines of Manicheanism in Mans and other cities. His preaching was everywhere followed by the most lamentable results both to public order and morality. He excited the people against the clergy, and to the commission of acts of bloodshed and violence; their dwellings were plundered and often razed to the ground; and they themselves were stoned or assassinated. Moreover, not only was the grossest libertinism practised in the public assemblies over which this man presided; but he even expressly taught that chastity was no virtue, and the want of it no vice, and he persuaded many of his followers to marry the most abandoned women of the town. The consequences were such as might have been expected; when, however, the Bishop of Mans returned and laboured diligently to instruct his people and to disabuse them of all the false doctrines which Henri had taught, the apostate monk was forced to return to the place from whence he came. There he found his master, Pierre de Bruys, diligently engaged in preaching the same horrible doctrines in Dauphiny, Provence, and Languedoc; and under his direction, he himself proceeded to sow the same seed in Toulouse, Auvergne, and Aquitaine. Pierre de Bruys not only perverted the people by false doctrine, he also, like Henri, stirred them up to acts of violence against the clergy and their churches; he cast down altars, plundered the sacred buildings of their ornaments; imprisoned monks, or obliged them to violate their vows of chastity; "nay oftentimes," says one who was *eye-witness* of their enormities, "they murder *without discrimination* of persons, ranks, or dignities *Another eye-witness* tells us that, as he passed throu *Toulouse, he saw* "the ruins of churches which had

torn down, the remnants of others which had been destroyed by fire, the very foundations dug up, and the wild beasts ranging freely where the dwellings of men had lately been." Pretty doings these for poor harmless Protestants who were so ruthlessly persecuted by the Church, only because "they held opinions different from those of the Romish hierarchy!"

Yet what persecution did these two heresiarchs suffer? What was their history and ultimate fate? Pierre de Bruys went up and down the country preaching for twenty-five years, until one day when he had made a bonfire of altars, crosses, and other holy things, in the public square of the town of St. Gilles, in Languedoc, the people were so indignant that they took the law into their own hands, seized him, and burnt him in another bonfire in the same place. His disciple, Henri, preached for more than forty years; and was at length taken by the people also and delivered by them to the Bishop, who threw him into prison, where he died. The heresy, however, did not die with them; they had not preached forty years for nothing. Evil weeds grow apace; and a few years afterwards we see the fruits of the seed that had been sown by these men, in the bands of armed heretics who devastated the country, pillaging it, and dragging the inhabitants into captivity, violating their wives in their presence, burning their churches, trampling under foot the Holy Eucharist and committing outrages of every kind.

I think I have now said enough to show that the heresy of the Albigenses was no subtle attack upon particular Catholic dogmas, but *an open assault on the foundations of all religion and morality;* and that their blasphemous errors were only equalled by their cruel and licentious practices. We come now to the main point of our enquiry, namely,—What was the actual course of conduct pursued by the Church, that is, by the Popes, towards these "unoffending" heretics? We have seen that they had nothing at all to do with *the* punishment of the ringleaders in the middle of the *twelfth century; that this* was simply the act of the people, *executing vengeance* with their own hands. Let us look

having been obliged to fly from Rome in consequence of the riots occasioned by the preaching of Arnold of Brescia, came into France, and there learned a more accurate account of the state of the Church in that country than had reached him whilst he was in Italy; and it was in a council held at Rheims at which he was present, that the first Papal decree was published against the Albigenses. Nothing can exceed its moderation. It simply calls upon the feudal lords of Gascony, Provence, and the neighbourhood, which were the parts principally infected with heresy, to fulfil some of the conditions on which they held their lordships, viz:—that they should not shelter or protect heretics; and threatens them with an interdict in case of disobedience. The Count of Toulouse was at this very moment entertaining in his castle the apostate Henri, of whose licentious doctrines we have already spoken; and the Pope by this decree did but remind him, as it were, of what we may call his coronation-oath, and threatened him with a heavy spiritual punishment if he were not more diligent to keep that oath. At the same time, he sent also a number of bishops and other distinguished ecclesiastics to see what could be done towards remedying the evil by continual preaching of the truth. One of these missionaries was St. Bernard, who enjoyed a great reputation not only for eloquence but also for sanctity; he is said, moreover, to have wrought miracles in confirmation of the truth; and it is certain that he succeeded in converting great numbers of the heretics, both in Toulouse, and in the city of Albi, which was their special head-quarters, and from whence they have received their name. Henri, on this occasion, took to flight, and it would seem that even Alfonse, the Count of Toulouse, must have renounced the heresy, for we find him now setting out with the other Catholic princes and nobles for the crusades in the Holy Land, where he died in the next year.

Unfortunately, the death of Alphonse involved the country in long and obstinate quarrels with various princes who claimed the right of succession; at the same time also the Papacy was engaged, first, in ridding itself of adherents of Arnold of Brescia, and then in a contest

a still more formidable enemy, Frederick Barbarossa; so that when St. Bernard, worn out with fatigue, was forced to return to his convent in order to recruit his strength, and two bishops, the most distinguished of those who had been sent to reclaim the heretics, died in the discharge of their most laborious duties, there was no one to reorganize the mission, and it came to an end. Meanwhile, the Albigenses were not idle; they laboured both to recover the ground they had lost and to spread their heresy yet further. Accordingly the next act of the church with reference to these heretics was a decree of a council held by Pope Alexander III. at Montpellier, in 1162, in which, having declared that their numbers and boldness have now reached such a height that the authority of the church is not sufficient to restrain them, he calls upon the civil authorities of the country to support the ecclesiastical, and declares them to be excommunicated if they refuse to do so. This decree was repeated at greater length by the council of Tours, in 1163; it set forth that a dreadful heresy, begun at Toulouse, was spreading like a cancer through all the neighbouring cities, hiding itself like a serpent and seeking to beguile the simple people unawares; it then enjoins all priests and bishops to watch diligently the growth of this evil; it prohibits any person from giving shelter and assistance to those whom they know to belong to this sect; and it *recommends* also, that people should keep aloof from all such infected persons even in the ordinary relations of life (in buying and selling, for example), "to the end that being deprived of all human consolation, they may the more readily abandon their evil way." Finally, it threatens the disobedient with excommunication; it requires Christian princes to imprison the heretics, to confiscate their goods, to find out their places of meeting, and to prevent such meetings for the future. These measures will probably seem very severe to some of our readers, accustomed as we are in these days to unrestricted intercourse with men of all religious professions, or of no religious profession at all; but no one who has studied the institutions of the age to which they belong, will accuse them of harshness or of injustice. As Protestants at the

present day are continually reminding Queen Victoria of the oath which she has taken "to maintain to the utmost of her power the Protestant reformed religion established by law," and upbraiding her for every act of grace and justice done towards Catholics, as being a violation of the oath, so the Pope, bishops, and others assembled in that council of Tours, did but remind the lords of the South of France of the obligation which they had contracted when they took possession of their dignities, always to maintain inviolate the integrity of the Catholic faith within their respective dominions—with this important difference, however, that the Pope, whilst holding this language, consistently taught that there was but one Catholic truth, "which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved," whereas modern Protestants, on the contrary, believe no such thing, and are ready to tolerate anything, excepting only the teaching of the Catholic Church.

We have seen how political disturbances of various kinds interfered with the execution of the decrees of Eugenius III, in 1148; the same fate awaited the decree of Alexander III., in 1163; and again, for a period of twelve or thirteen years, the heretics proceeded in their course, undisturbed by the civil authority. Emboldened by their success, they sought to extend their sect through the North of France, in Flanders, in Germany, and even in England. The severity, however, with which they were treated in those countries—in Cologne, for instance, they were put to death by the people before the clergy had been able to begin any judicial measures against them, and similar events happened elsewhere also—forced them to retire again to their strongholds, Albi, Toulouse, and other cities in the South of France. In 1176, some of the bishops in those parts held public disputations with them; for a long time they had recourse to their usual arts of concealment and equivocation, and sought to deny the heresies imputed to their charge; at length, however, they acknowledged *that they* rejected the Old Testament and *condemned marriage*, thereby clearly showing themselves *be genuine descendants of the Manichees*, of whom I have

even without this appeal, to have interfered in behalf of public order and the well-being of society, to put an end to the lamentable state of things which we have described in the southern portion of his dominions; and that he was turned aside from his purpose by the persuasions of Pope Alexander, who sent twelve legates, or missionaries, to see whether something was not still to be effected by using the spiritual sword.

From a detailed account of this mission which has come down to us, it appears that the legates were quite amazed at the progress which they found the heresy had made, and at the disgraceful practices to which its professors were publicly addicted; the heretics exercised absolute power over the people, and even over the clergy; what they had heard of their doings did not come up, they say, to one-third of what they now saw with their own eyes. Peter Moran, one of the chiefs of the sect, and known amongst them by the name of St. John the Evangelist, was seized in his castle by Raymond, and brought before the Papal legates. After considerable hesitation, he made a full confession of the Manichean heresy; and being condemned, was given over to the secular arm and put in prison. Here, however, he declared himself penitent, and having submitted to the canonical penance, was reconciled to the church. A few other heretics were reconciled in the same way, and others again were excommunicated. No result, however, on any large scale, followed from this mission; and in the following year, A.D. 1179, the Pope summoned a general council to be held in Rome, for the express purpose of consulting with the princes and bishops on the best means to be adopted for the suppression of heresy. More than three hundred bishops were present at this council (the third Lateran council), many of whom being also feudal lords had authority to make civil regulations for the good government of their States. Moreover, there were present the ambassadors of various Christian *princes;* thus forming together a kind of general European *congress, to decide in concert* on some definite line of *conduct to be pursued for* the removal of those evils under *which a portion of Christendom* was so grievously suffering.

Nor will any reasonable man pretend to say that the decrees of this council erred on the side of severity. In the preamble of the decree concerning heresy, it is set forth that "though the Church, as St. Leo says, contents itself with pronouncing spiritual punishments by the mouth of her ministers, and does not inflict capital punishments upon any, yet she is assisted by the laws of Christian princes, to the end that the fear of corporal chastisement may cause the guilty to have recourse to spiritual remedies;" and it then goes on to make the most accurate distinctions between the mere preachers of heresy and those who were their instruments in those deeds of violence which have been before mentioned. The former are only excommunicated; the others are also to be punished materially; force is to be resisted by force; but even here, too, a distinction is made between those who personally committed the deeds of violence complained of—"respecting neither churches nor cloisters, sparing neither widows nor orphans, age nor sex, but plundering and destroying all like Pagans—," and those whose servants these men were, those who hired, kept, and protected them. These last were to be publicly excommunicated by name every Sunday, and, in conformity with the laws and constitutions of the Empire, it was to be declared that their subjects were absolved from all obligations of obedience; the former, on the contrary, were to be overcome by force of arms, and their goods to be confiscated, and it was even declared lawful to reduce their persons to a state of slavery.

Let the reader distinctly remember that they against whom this sentence was pronounced were no peaceful and harmless citizens, leading honest, sober, and industrious lives, but unfortunately entertaining peculiar notions and speculative opinions on religious subjects, as Protestant writers would fain represent them; they were men of whom, as we have already said, history tells us that they inflicted tortures on priests and nuns, set fire to churches, and stole the sacred vessels, trampled under foot the Holy Eucharist, used the veils, corporals, and other ecclesiastic furniture as ornaments for their mistresses' attire, and some instances offered violence to women with

aggravation of which such a crime is capable. For offences such as these, the penalties that have been named were certainly not excessive; it is only to be regretted that their severity, such as it was, did not proceed exactly in the opposite proportion to that which it really followed. I mean, that the teachers of heresy, who were the true source of the evil, ought to have been made to suffer more than the ignorant populace whom they had deluded; the princes and nobles who succoured and supported these heretical brigands, than the brigands themselves: and Pope Lucius III., therefore, in the council of Verona, held three years later, whilst renewing and confirming this decree of the Lateran council, went on to add, that "inasmuch as the severity of ecclesiastical discipline is sometimes despised by those who do not understand its power, we ordain that any who shall be manifestly convicted of the aforesaid errors, if they are priests or religious, shall be deprived of all orders and benefices, and abandoned to the secular power to receive the fitting punishment; and so also shall the laic be treated in the same way. If, however, they make abjuration of the heresy, they shall not suffer; but those who, after having once made abjuration, return to their former heresy again, shall not be listened to any more, but shall be left at once to the secular judge." The reason of this latter provision was that they had now learnt, by experience, that many of these Albigenses did not scruple to forswear their errors in the moment of danger, and to profess them anew immediately the danger was past. The Count of Beziers, and other princes, had done this, even since the Lateran council was held.

Another decree of the council of Verona ran thus: "Furthermore, we ordain that the counts, barons, governors, and consuls of these towns and other places, shall promise by oath, when called upon by the bishops, to give efficient aid to the Church in carrying out these laws against the heretics and their accomplices, whenever it may be required *of them, and that they* shall set themselves to work in *good earnest to execute* to the best of their ability all *that the Church and the Empire*"—mark these words; it was *the State, as well as* the Church, which was making these

laws; princes and nobles sat in this council, as well as bishops and cardinals—"have determined on this matter. In case of disobedience, they shall be deprived of all their offices, and never admitted to any other, besides being excommunicated and having their territory put under an interdict." And in a third decree, the bishops were very strictly enjoined really to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against those who had incurred it; and the penalty for not doing so, was suspension from the Episcopal office for three years.

All these measures were taken in the year 1184, and although more stringent than any that had gone before, they still fell far short of that crusade which was afterwards proclaimed against the heretics, and which has been so constant a subject of reproach against the Church. Possibly, had the circumstances of the times allowed them to be fully carried out, there might never have been a necessity for the war which followed. But the nobles were so deeply infected with the heresy, and the bishops were so feeble and indifferent, that nothing but the vigilant eye and strong arm of the Papacy could have sufficed to ensure the execution of the decrees that had been made; and its attention was much occupied at this time with protecting the interests of Christianity in the East; not to mention that three or four Popes succeeded one another in as many years, each reigning for too short a time to effect any great work. At length, Innocent III. was called to the Pontifical throne; and from the first beginning of his reign, the affairs of the Church in the South of France engaged his most anxious attention. By this time, however, A.D. 1198, the evil had grown more gigantic than ever. No less than one thousand cities and towns were in the possession of the heretics—not, of course, to the absolute exclusion of Catholics, but the faithful were everywhere oppressed; Raymond VI., the present Count of Toulouse, openly professed himself one of their disciples; he never travelled without two of their number for his companions; loaded them with favours and privileges, and even occasionally frequented their nocturnal assemblies. But Innocent was not a man to shrink from any

however difficult, which promised to be for the glory of God and the good of His church; and he lost no time in entering on the conflict with this now inveterate mischief of the Albigensian heresy. First, he wrote a multitude of letters to different princes and bishops, painting in the most vivid colours the evils of heresy, and seeking to inspire them with a more just and salutary horror of it; next, he diligently applied himself to the reforming of the clergy; thirdly, he encouraged preaching and public conferences, and disputations, for the purpose of confuting the heretics and exposing their errors; fourthly, he made use of ecclesiastical censures and threats, to be followed, in case of disobedience, by banishment and confiscation of goods; and *not till all these means had been tried and had failed, did he at length unwillingly resort to that which the temporal lords of the place had invoked thirty years before, the armed intervention of a foreign power to put down the enemies of the faith.*

First and mainly, he depended on the action of the clergy. He sent two legates into the country, with full powers to reconcile, or to excommunicate, or to proclaim an interdict; in a word, to do everything which the emergency of the case might seem to require. When one of these fell ill, a third (Pierre of Castelnau) was associated with them. After two years, the two religious who had been sent first returned in despair to their convents. A cardinal is sent to strengthen the hands of the remaining legate; for three years they labour incessantly, but with little or no success, and at length the cardinal resigns, and another takes his place. Conferences are held at Toulouse and elsewhere; but Pierre de Castelnau, who has been toiling at this ungrateful task for more than five years, writes to the Pope that they are really making no progress, and that he thinks nothing but the threats of Philip Augustus, King of France, will induce the lords of the country to fulfil their duties. Innocent, therefore, writes to the king; yet not altogether abandoning the hopes of effecting his purpose by peaceable and purely ecclesiastical measures, he also sends another legate to Toulouse, Arnold, abbot of Citeaux, who plays a very conspicuous

part in the subsequent history of the crusade. The legates, however, receive no assistance from the local bishops, and soon petition the Pope for their dismissal, but in vain. For seven years had these missionaries been labouring, one after the other, to reclaim the wandering sheep, when in the summer of the year 1206 they were joined by two Spaniards, the Bishop of Osma and St. Dominic. These holy men, having heard the report of their fruitless toils, exhorted them to throw aside all the splendour and pomp of their retinue as Papal legates, and go among the people with apostolic simplicity and poverty. They themselves set the example, which the legates immediately follow. Public conferences are held, and some few are converted. The missionaries begin to hope; the Bishop of Osma goes on to Spain, there to rid himself of his bishopric, and then to return for the rest of his life to this labour of love. He dies, however, before he has accomplished his purpose. Arnold returns for awhile on business to his abbey, and then comes back to Toulouse, accompanied by thirty-two other members of his order, twelve of them abbots; and these go about the country, two or three together, living in the most austere and simple manner, and preaching the true faith. Here and there they convert a few; St. Dominic converts more; but what are two or three hundred heretics out of this immense multitude? The Cistercian monks and abbots abandon the enterprise in despair, in less than three months. St. Dominic still labours on, and so also does Pierre of Castelnau; but it is at the peril of their lives. The Count of Toulouse had faithfully promised that he would fulfil the obligations by which he held his territory, and support the Papal legates and the integrity of the faith against the violence of their enemies. He did not, however, keep his oath; Pierre de Castelnau upbraided him for this breach of promise, put his dominions under an interdict, and pronounced sentence of excommunication against him; and a few days afterwards, Pierre is murdered by one of the Count's household.

This murder put an end to all the peaceful efforts which *the Church had* been so perseveringly making for the *hundred years*, and Pope Innocent himself for the last

years, to destroy by spiritual weapons the heresy of the Albigenses. It was the immediate occasion of the crusade against them. And here, therefore, I might almost take my leave of the subject, having sufficiently disproved the ordinary Protestant statement, whose falsehood it was my special purpose to expose; namely, that the Popes in general, and Innocent III. in particular, "being destitute alike of justice and of pity, knew no other means of converting heretics than by the use of fire and sword;" and that instead of attempting to persuade and convince, "he charged his ministers to burn the leaders, to disperse the flocks, and to confiscate the property of everyone who did not think as he did." He did no such thing; as head of the Church, it was his duty to watch over and zealously maintain the unity of the faith; by the constitution of the several States of Europe at the time of which we are speaking, he exercised authority over all kings and princes, even within the limits of their own dominions, in all matters pertaining to religion; it was his duty to see that they fulfilled the obligations to which they were pledged by oath on first taking possession of their respective sovereignties. And here were a number of petty princes, in a particular portion of France, living in gross violation of those obligations; allowing a heresy, which virtually amounted to a denial of the Christian revelation, to gain so firm and extensive a hold of the country, that its professors committed all kinds of outrages upon the faithful with the utmost impunity; nay more, one of these princes held a Catholic bishop in prison, and refused to release him, only because his zeal for the faith had rendered him specially obnoxious to the heretics; and another, the most powerful prince in that neighbourhood, had now, if he had not himself commanded the murder of the Pope's ambassador, which was generally believed, and seems very probable—yet certainly rewarded and entertained the murderer. The father of this prince had lamented over the spread of *the heresy, thirty years* before; had acknowledged his own *inability to keep in check* the violence of its professors, *and had invoked the* assistance of the material sword in *the person of the King* of France. And now, that same

assistance is invoked by the Head of the Church for the very same purpose, though, as it happens, against the son of him who first proposed it.

The Pope wrote letters to the King of France and to the principal lords and prelates of the kingdom, exhorting them to take up arms against the heretics of the South, who, in addition to all their other crimes, had just violated the law of nations by the murder of an ambassador. Arnold, the Abbot of Citeaux whom we have before mentioned, and many others, preached this new crusade with great diligence, saying that it was even more necessary to fight against these enemies of Christianity in the West than against the infidels in the East. Moreover, the same indulgences were promised to those who took part in the nearer, as to those who went rather to the more distant war. The king immediately brought about fifteen thousand soldiers into the field, against those whom he justly called "the enemies of order and of the faith." Numerous lords, both temporal and spiritual, contributed their quota to the armament, which continually increased until no fewer than fifty thousand were assembled in Lyons in the year 1209. Preparations on so extensive a scale alarmed the vacillating and faithless Count of Toulouse, so that he sought an interview with Arnold, in order that he might be reconciled to the Church. The abbot, who was a stern man and fond of vigorous measures, refused to listen to his overtures for peace, and bade him justify himself at Rome from the charges that lay against him for the murder of Pierre of Castelnau. This he did, and at the same time begged that some other legate might be appointed for the investigation of his case, instead of Arnold, of whose severity he made bitter complaints. His prayer was granted, and by the new legates he was summoned to a council at Valence, where, having justified himself with reference to the past and made promises for the future, he submitted to a public canonical penance, and was solemnly reconciled to the church. Indeed, he himself now put on the cross as one of those who was to wage war against the heretics, and it was actually under his guidance that the army of the crusade proceeded to Montpellier. Here they were met by another

the heretical princes, the Viscount de Beziers, the young nephew of the Count of Toulouse, come like his uncle to sue for a reconciliation. Arnold replied that the time was past for listening to any terms of peace; moreover, that he had broken faith before, and could no longer be trusted. The young Viscount retired, deeply irritated by this rejection of his offers, and determined to offer the most obstinate resistance to his invaders. There can be little doubt, also, that this act considerably shook the purpose of the Count, his uncle; for however willing he might have been to proceed against the heretical portion of his own or his neighbours' subjects, he was not likely to be an unconcerned spectator, still less an active auxiliary in the work of ruining his nephew's dynasty. And in fact, many persons are disposed to attribute all the evils which followed to this impolitic harshness of the Abbot of Citeaux. Be this as it may, it is important to observe that the abbot acted in this, as also in most of the subsequent events of the war, entirely on his own judgment, and without any express instructions received from the Pope. Indeed, in some instances he even acted against what he knew to be the mind of the Holy Father; and in many others he took care not to consult him until it was too late.

The war was begun; and I will not attempt to describe the frightful amount of bloodshed, the perfidy and cruelty by which it was characterized, as all wars, and especially civil wars, too commonly are, *on both sides*. Arnold, as I have said, was a most stern and arbitrary man; he was weary of the multiplied and fruitless attempts which had been made during the last hundred years to destroy the evil by teaching and preaching, and peaceful negociations; and was determined that the work should now be done effectually. Probably, also, he thought that a great display of severity at the first might strike intimidation into the hearts of the heretics, and so spare much misery and bloodshed in the end. But, whatever his motives may *have been, he certainly* sanctioned a wholesale butchery of *the enemy, such as* every Christian mind naturally abhors. *Moreover, it seems* only too probable, that the Viscount of *eziers, who,* when his capital city was obliged to

surrender to the crusaders, was thrown into prison, contrary to the terms of the capitulation, was secretly murdered there. It was announced, indeed, that he had died of dysentery, and his remains were honoured with a costly funeral; but the Pope mentions in one of his letters, that he had heard he had been miserably put to death; and he upbraids the crusaders with this act of perfidious cruelty. The truth is, that Arnold was a scheming politician, who had formed his own views as to the best course to be adopted for the pacification and restoration to the faith of this part of Europe; and he was determined to carry it out in spite of all opposition, and without consulting the Pope. He saw that the real source of the evil lay in the indifference, or worse than indifference, of the several petty kings and nobles, and that no remedy could be effectual which did not substitute for them other princes devoted to the Catholic faith. As soon, therefore, as the cities of Beziers and Carcassone had been reduced, he summoned a council of all the chiefs in the army, to decide who should take possession of the conquered country, and rule over it in the place of the Viscount de Beziers who was deposed. He offered it to three different princes in succession, each of whom indignantly refused to enrich himself at the loss of his vanquished neighbour. A less determined man would have hesitated before these manifest tokens of opposition to his scheme; Arnold, however, persevered in his intention, and soon found a man who would enter heartily into all his plans and be of most efficient service in carrying them out. This was the celebrated Simon de Montfort, a man of undaunted courage, and of great skill and experience in the art of war; but a man also of considerable personal ambition, recklessly unsparing of human life, and certainly no Catholic saint, or perfect representative of the mind of the Church. It was under his auspices and Arnold's, that the crusade was carried on; and, as I have already said, they not only acted in all the various details of the war without the express instruction of the *Pope, but even* practised deceit upon him in some *instances as to what* had been really done, and in other *acted against what* was known to be his wish. And it

in this way and no other, that a war, which was holy in its object, which had been conceived in the spirit of a crusade, and was undertaken for the righteous purpose of punishing extreme wickedness, and preventing an almost endless loss of souls, unhappily degenerated into a war of conquest, and became for its severities a scandal to the age in which it happened. Let the impartial reader say how far this can justly be made a subject of reproach against the Popes and the Church; rather on the contrary, was it not precisely because the Pope did *not* superintend its progress, that it became the occasion of all those evils against which Protestants so loudly declaim?

It may be said, however, that after all, the great fact remains, which is really the essence of the whole matter, viz.: that force was used by express order of the Pope for the purpose of putting down heresy. We shall be told perhaps that it is only this which Protestants complain of, that men professing to be disciples of the religion of meekness and love should have deemed it right to put on helmet and sword and to shed torrents of human blood, nominally for the sake of spreading that religion. To this objection, our answer is two-fold:—first, that this statement does not assign the true motive for the crusades against the Albigenses. The war was not one of aggression, undertaken for the sake of *propagating* anything; it was a war of self-defence to *protect* Christianity and Christians from the violent assaults of their enemies The faithful were summoned to the defence of the sacred virgins and holy persons and places; the language of the very Bulls which were issued on the occasion are in these words:—"We enjoin on all the faithful, for the remission of their sins, *to oppose manfully such havoc and to defend with arms the Christian people.*" The people were being attacked and outraged in every possible way; and in a state of society where the machinery and police of government were not so perfectly *developed as they* are now-a-days, there were no more *effective means of* suppressing lawless violence of this *kind than by the* summoning of volunteers, and there was *o rallying power for* these volunteers, when summoned,

so great as the standard of the cross, and no allurement so attractive as the spiritual treasures of the church. The Popes, therefore, were not attacking heresy, so much as they were defending Christianity.

But secondly, even had it been otherwise—had these crusades been undertaken solely for the purpose of extirpating religious error, certainly the Protestant inhabitants of these islands are not entitled to throw the first stone: for, in the National Covenant of the Kirk of Scotland was not an oath taken by the members of the league, that they would "resist all errors and corruptions according to their vocation, *to the uttermost of that power which God had put into their hands*?" And what did Innocent III and his successors more than this, even on the showing of their adversaries themselves? Nay, more, is it not at this day an article in the Westminster Confession of Faith,* that "the civil magistrate hath authority, and *it is his duty to take order that unity and peace be preserved in the church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed*, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed?" And in another place† in the same document we read, that "for the publishing of such opinions or maintaining of such practices as are contrary to the known principles of Christianity, whether concerning faith, worship, or conversation, or to the power of godliness, or such erroneous opinions or practices, as either in their own nature or in the manner of publishing or maintaining them, are destructive to the external peace and order which Christ hath established in the church, men may lawfully be called to account, and *proceeded against* by the censures of the church, and *by the power of the civil magistrate*."

Only let Protestants honestly apply these same principles to the true history of the Albigensian heretics and the war that was waged against them, and I am satisfied that we should hear no more about the merciless character of

* C. xxiii, page 86, ed. 1845.

† C. xx, 4.

Pope Innocent III. and "the bloody-minded Church of Rome which sought to preserve the unity of the faith by putting to the sword all who ventured to differ from herself;" but, on the contrary, these crusades will be recognized as having been, not merely justifiable, but absolutely just and right and necessary; and blame will be given where alone it is due, to those who departed from the plan laid down by the Pope, and followed their own devices in the mode of executing it.

I have said nothing in these pages about another set of men, who by many Protestant writers are always coupled with the Albigenses and spoken of as though they held the same doctrines and had been proceeded against in the same way, I mean the Waldenses. The truth is however, that the two sects were perfectly distinct. Certainly, both the Albigenses and Waldenses "held opinions different from those of the Romish hierarchy," or, in other words, were heretics; and so far they have a right to be classed together; but beyond this there was nothing in common between them. The very learned Protestant Dr. Maitland has clearly shown that these two sects "were, originally, entirely, and continually, distinct, differing essentially in their doctrines and rites;" that they "not only held very different opinions, but were two classes of persons who were so far from fellowship or making common cause, that they were not drawn together even by persecutions, and in fact, had little or no intercourse with each other."* The Albigenses, as we have seen, were the genuine descendants of the ancient Manichees; their religion could not be called Christianity at all; it was a heathenish superstition. Dr. Maitland who with his usual laboriousness of research and admirable impartiality has investigated their history at a period just subsequent to that which has formed the subject of these pages, says of them, that although he finds that "they reprobated the vices of the priests, the *superstitious rites and* idolatry of the Church"—you must

* *Facts and Documents* Illustrative of the Ancient Albigenses and Waldenses, pp. 137-261.

remember it is a Protestant who is writing,—"and taught the unlawfulness of oaths, yet he does not learn that any Albigensian teacher, on any occasion, ever propounded one Scripture doctrine, or enforced one moral precept;" he does not "find anything that looks as if the Albigenses were at all more religious than their neighbours, or as if it was the object of their teachers to make them so;" on the contrary, he considers these teachers to have been "either hypocritical impostors, or misguided fanatics."* Of the Waldenses, on the contrary, he has a very favourable opinion; and *as compared with the Albigenses*, they deserved it. They took their origin from one Peter Waldo, a merchant of Lyons, who lived in the latter half of the twelfth century, who, happening to be present one day when one of his friends suddenly fell down dead, was seized with a most anxious concern for the salvation of his own soul, and reviewing with horror the worldly life he had hitherto led, immediately sold all his possessions, gave them to the poor, and began to lead a life of simplicity and poverty. Other persons were soon induced to follow his pious example; and had they been content with this, they might have become a holy order or confraternity within the Church, like the disciples of St. Francis of Assisi, who were established not long afterwards. Unfortunately however, they took upon themselves the office of preachers, without having been called to it by those who alone had the power to "send" them; and when forbidden by the lawful authorities, they refused to obey. This fatal step having once been taken, the usual results followed. Professing to take the Holy Scriptures for their only guide, they fell into various errors, some of which, as might have been expected, were the same as those which are held by some Protestant sects at the present day, though the *whole* system of their religious doctrine was, of course, far from being identical with the *whole* system of any modern sect. For instance, although professing to agree with our own Protestant fellow-countrymen in taking the Bible as their rul of *faith, they* deduced from it a doctrine which the thir

* *Ibid*, pp. 137-249-459, &c.

nine articles of the Church of England expressly condemn, viz.: that all oaths were unlawful. Moreover, unlike English Protestants, they believed firmly and confessed, that in the holy sacrament of the altar was the real Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and only departed from the doctrine of the Catholic Church in this particular, by saying that any individual of their sect could celebrate mass, and "make the Body of Christ," even though he had never received ordination from the hands of a Bishop. In later times, their descendants have altered their doctrines on this and many other matters, and are now more in harmony with the general teaching of the so-called Reformation; that is to say, they have adopted many of the errors of Luther and Calvin. But at the beginning it was not so; and I have thought it worth while to mention this, because Protestant writers, in their desire to lay claim to an antiquity to which they have no pretensions, often speak of the Waldenses (and Albigenses too, not unfrequently) as having been their spiritual forefathers. Now, through the Albigenses they may, if they choose, trace an obscure and somewhat doubtful descent of fifteen hundred years or more; but then "with the credit they must also take the disgrace of the pedigree;" and how deep that disgrace is, my readers have now had an opportunity of judging for themselves: but as to the Waldenses, they are only about three hundred years older than the Protestants themselves, so that a vast chasm is still left between them and the age of the apostles; and moreover, although the Waldensian doctrines were less unlike those of Anglicanism than the Albigensian doctrines were, yet on some most fundamental points they were diametrically opposed to them. To pretend, as some have done, that the Waldenses have always held the same doctrines as the great bulk of English Protestants hold now, and that they have held these doctrines almost from the very first ages of the Church, or indeed that they existed at all anywhere before the latter end of the twelfth century, is, as Dr. Maitland has clearly proved, an utter absurdity, *of which whoever is guilty must either be most grossly ignorant of the facts of history, or must desire wilfully to misrepresent them.*

There remains yet one more particular to be mentioned about the Albigenses which will be interesting to all devout Catholics, and then I shall have told you all that is most important and best worth knowing about them. The particular to which I allude, is that the beautiful devotion of the *Rosary* began at this time, and owes its origin to this very heresy. The Rosary is, as you know,* in an especial manner, a devotion in honour of our Lord's Incarnation; and I have already told you that the Albigenses denied this doctrine. They believed that our bodies and all matter were evil; they could not believe therefore, that the Son of an all-good and all-holy God had taken upon Himself a material body of flesh and blood like unto ours. They chose rather to say that He had taken only the semblance, or appearance of a human body; so that he had not *really* been born of the Blessed Virgin Mary, nor really died upon the Cross, nor really risen from the dead, nor really ascended into heaven. When, therefore, the holy St. Dominic came to labour among these miserable heretics, and wished both to reclaim those who had been already deceived, and to confirm in the true faith those souls that had not yet been corrupted, he instituted this form of prayer in which the whole history of Lord's life, passion, and resurrection, is brought before our minds to be thought about and meditated upon in prayer, by means of what are called the joyful, sorrowful, and glorious mysteries. I do not mean to say but that the practices of frequently reciting the Our Father and the Hail Mary, and of counting the number of prayers by means of stones, beads, or other such marks, were far more ancient than the days of St. Dominic; but the union of these two practices in that particular form which we still use and which we call the Rosary, was certainly first made by him, and for the purpose we have mentioned, viz: deeply to impress upon the minds and hearts of the people the great fundamental truth of Christianity "*God made man.*" It was, in fact, an abridgment of the whole Gospel-history; the sum and

* *See Tract No. 12* of this series,—The Rosary of the Blessed *Virgin Mary, or, the* use of the beads no "vain repetition."

substance of the Gospel put into a short and simple form which even the poorest and most ignorant could frequently repeat and easily remember; nor can we doubt that it was by a special inspiration from heaven that St. Dominic was led to establish a devotion which has become so universal in the Church, and which has been so abundantly blessed to the instruction and salvation of souls.

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THE INQUISITION.

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PORTMAN SQUARE,
READER, PARK STREET, BRISTOL.

1853.

The Inquisition.

AMONG all the institutions in any way connected with the Catholic Church, there are two, which the whole Protestant world seem in a special manner to have agreed in hating, denouncing, vilifying, painting in the most hideous colours, and shamelessly calumniating, I mean the Jesuits and the Inquisition. These two words have actually passed into the English vocabulary as having a meaning of their own, a *bad* meaning, independently of that meaning which belongs to them properly and historically. They are not only used as proper names, denoting certain bodies and institutions which exist and have a history, but they are also used as *common* names, denoting certain moral, or immoral, qualities which are assumed to be the characteristics of those bodies. Take, for instance, Johnson's Dictionary, or any other dictionary of our language, and look at the meanings which are assigned to these words—look at *Jesuit*, for example, and you will find "a member of a religious society or company in the Roman Catholic Church, founded by Ignatius Loyola in the sixteenth century;" this is its first, or proper and historical meaning; then follows its intellectual and moral meaning, when used, not as a proper, but as a common name, and it stands thus—"a very clever man, one wiser than yourself, a crafty and cunning man;" and the word "Jesuitically" is explained simply as "craftily." And so of Inquisitors and the Inquisition in the same manner; our English dictionaries first tell *us, and tell* us truly, that the Inquisition is a court *or tribunal in some* Catholic countries for examining persons *suspected of heresy;*" and then they go on to ex

"Inquisitorial" as meaning "with all the harshness and severity of an Inquisitor," thereby intending to teach, and actually teaching the great mass of Englishmen, that the Inquisition was habitually a harsh, severe, and cruel tribunal.

Now, in what follows I am not going to say anything about the first of these words, but only about the second. I propose to tell you something of the true character of that great bugbear of Protestantism, the horrors of the Inquisition. I suppose that when a Protestant hears the word Inquisition, immediately there rises up before his eyes a horrible vision of a secret tribunal, whose head-quarters are at Rome, but whose hands are everywhere; a tribunal which shrinks from no measures either of fraud or violence in order to compass its ends; and whose one great aim and object is to sweep away Protestantism and Protestants from off the face of the earth. They have heard so much of the dungeons of the Inquisition, of its "tortures," its "horrors," its "myrmidons," its "familiars," its "victims," and the like; that it is inseparably associated in their minds with the idea of a most diabolical, blood-thirsty cruelty. They think that it was a vast machine, invented by the bigoted monks and friars of the dark ages, to rob and murder all lovers of pure Gospel truth. In a word, their notion of it is not very unlike that which Holy Scripture sets before us as an image of the great enemy of mankind, namely, of one "going about seeking whom he may devour."

The object of the following pages is to tell you something of the real history of this much-maligned institution—to give you some idea of the circumstances out of which it took its rise, and to lay before you some account of its modes of procedure; that so you may be enabled to judge how far it can justly be made the subject of reproach against the Bishops of Rome, and through them against the Catholic Church.

Now, you can see for yourselves that the first idea contained in the word "Inquisition" is simply that of *inquiring after*, or seeking to discover, some hidden thing or person. *A policeman*, or a magistrate, may in this sense be said to *be an inquisitor*, because it is his duty to investigate offences *that have been committed* against the law of the land, and *bring the offenders* to justice. And in matters spiritual, a

bishop, by virtue of his office, is an inquisitor of the same kind. It is his duty, laid down in the plainest language of Holy Writ, to watch over those who are entrusted to his charge; and where he sees any going astray, to "reprove," to "rebuke sharply," and "with all authority," and if necessary, "after the first and second admonition to reject," that is, to cut off from the society of the church, or in other words, to excommunicate.* This, I say, is contained in the very idea of a bishop, or overseer of God's flock. He is bound to maintain the integrity of the faith, and to keep his people from being corrupted by teachers of false doctrines; and he has authority given him for this special purpose. Accordingly, for several hundred years after the Ascension of our Lord into heaven, the bishops were the only inquisitors in their respective dioceses; and it is not until the end of the twelfth century, that we read of any other persons being either associated with them, or substituted for them, for the discharge of the duties attached to this part of their office. At that time, however, peculiar circumstances rendered the appointment of special additional officers absolutely necessary in a particular part of the church; from whence it spread by degrees into other countries also, and a tribunal was established, which has since been commonly known in history by the name of the Inquisition. What those peculiar circumstances were I must now explain.

From what I have already told you concerning the Albigenses, or Manicheans of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, you will have learnt the abominable nature of their principles, and the outrageous violence and gross licentiousness of their practice. But there was another feature in their character of which I did not then speak, but reserved to the present as a more fitting occasion; I allude to their extraordinary deceitfulness and hypocrisy. They sought in every possible way to conceal the fact of their heresy from the notice of the bishops, and were anxious to be supposed to belong to the number of the faithful. For this purpose they frequented the public functions of the church, and even approached the holy sacraments, *and the Popes* were obliged at various times to have *recourse to various* measures for the purpose of discover-

* *2 Tim.* iv, 2. Titus i, 13. ii, 15. iii, 10.

and detecting them. Thus, it was a part of their superstition always to pray towards the east; and St. Leo was obliged to forbid this to Christians, although in itself a thing indifferent, in order that he might by this means distinguish the faithful from the heretic. At a later period, Pope Gelasius, for the same reason, enjoined all Christians to receive Holy Communion under both species; heretofore, it had been the practice to communicate in both kinds, or in either, indifferently; but as it was one of the errors of the Manicheans that the fruit of the vine was evil, and they would not, under any circumstances, partake of it, therefore, Gelasius ordered all Christians to receive of the Chalice as well as of the Host, in order that these heretics might be thereby discovered. In a word, hypocrisy was a characteristic of the Manichean heretics from the very first, and they had not lost it in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when they come before us in the south of France as Albigenses. At that time, if they were anywhere brought before the bishops, the answers which they gave to their examiners were so grossly equivocating, that it required no ordinary skill to detect them. When interrogated, for example, as to the waters of baptism, they answered that they received and acknowledged them, meaning, however, by "the waters of baptism," the doctrines of the Christian religion, whereby our souls are purified as our bodies are by water. And allegories of the same kind so abounded in their conversations and writings and sermons, that men who did not know of their habit of equivocation, often took them for orthodox. Moreover, if their equivocations were discovered, and they were convicted of heresy, they would then feign themselves penitent, submit to the ecclesiastical penance inflicted, and return to their former evil practices the moment the danger was past. It required, therefore, great skill and care and diligence to detect these heretics, whilst, unfortunately, both the bishops and princes of the south of France, where they abounded, were very careless and negligent in taking any *measures to stay* their progress. It was this state of things, *which, as I have already* shown, gave rise to the crusades *against the Albigenses*; and it was out of these same circumstances *that the* Inquisition had its origin.

It is in a decree of the Council of Verona, A.D., 1182, that we find the first germ of the Inquisition properly so called; the first appointment, that is, of officers specially appointed to find out all who were heretics and to report them to the bishops. The Council required all bishops, either personally, or by their archdeacons, to make a yearly visitation of their dioceses; and four men of high character and known responsibility were to report to them on these occasions the names of all such persons as kept aloof from the company of the faithful, frequented secret meetings, and were justly suspected of heresy. It must be allowed that there is nothing very formidable in the Inquisition at this stage of its development; if we are not misinformed, something of the same kind remains, in form at least, among our neighbours in the Anglican establishment at the present day. We believe that in the printed schedule of questions, supplied to all churchwardens on occasion of the triennial visitation of the bishop, one of them concerns the names of all persons in the parish who are leading wicked and scandalous lives, who do not frequent the Sacraments, &c. Churchwardens are *pro hac vice* Inquisitors! By and bye, in the year 1229, there was held the celebrated Council of Toulouse, from which most historians have agreed to date the real commencement of the Inquisition. In this Council it was agreed that one priest and several laymen of unblemished character, should be appointed in each parish, by the bishop or archbishop of the diocese, and that these persons should be bound by an oath, diligently to inquire after all heretics, and to denounce them, either to the bishop, or to the temporal lord of the place; and if they neglect this duty, they are to be severely punished. Moreover, all men above the age of fourteen, and all women above the age of twelve, are required to renew every two years an oath of fidelity to the Church, and promise that they will denounce to the proper authorities, all whom they know to be heretics. Remember what you have heard of the hypocrisy of the heretics whom this council condemned, and at the same time of the frightful nature of their opinions and their practices, and you will not be surprised at finding such measures as these adopted with a view to detecting and root out the evil. The crusades against them were now over

the heretics had been conquered: they dared not therefore, any longer appear in public, and openly teach their false doctrine; and the design of this decree was to prevent them from spreading it among the people in secret. It was a step taken, not by the clergy against the laity, to keep them in the bonds of ignorance and superstition, as Protestants would have us believe; but by the whole body politic, for the preservation not only of true religion, but of society itself. The bloody experience of more than a hundred years had taught them what immoralities, what cruelties, what frightful horrors were the natural product of this Manichean heresy, when allowed to run its course unrebuked. Churches and dwelling-houses burnt or otherwise destroyed; men, women, and children insulted and butchered; the holy sacraments of the church profaned; these things, and such as these, were the genuine fruits of the Albigensian doctrine. Moreover, one special danger of this sect lay in the secresy of their operations and the wide-spread ramifications of their conspiracy; they were, in fact, just like the secret societies of the present day; and as no rational man could think a government blameworthy for taking proper steps to discover and punish the members of such associations as are known to be plotting against its own existence, so was society in the thirteenth century abundantly justified in the measures which it took for the very same purpose.

Here, then, is the true origin of the Inquisition: it was established by the whole social body, for its own preservation. It only remained to withdraw these *inquisitors* from the episcopal authority of each diocese, and to concentrate their powers in the hands of certain delegates, appointed independently of the bishops, and we have the whole framework of the Inquisition as it existed in its most perfect development, as an ecclesiastical institution.

And now, having sufficiently explained the circumstances out of which the Inquisition took its rise, having shown that it was in fact a tribunal for the detection of a *certain dangerous* class of heretics, a tribunal called for by *the extraordinary* circumstances of the times, and whose *duty it was to* watch over the integrity of the faith, and to *prevent the progress* of error; let us next inquire, what

was there either in its mode of procedure, or in the issue of the several cases which were brought before it, that has earned for this tribunal its long-accustomed epithets of bloody and barbarous? I will arrange what I have to say on these subjects according to the division that I have just suggested; that is, I will speak first of the objections that have been urged against the legal method which it pursued in the trial of persons brought before it, and then of the ordinary result of its trials, the punishments that were inflicted, and so forth.

And first, of the process by which justice was administered in the courts of the Inquisition: a little volume intended for popular use, has lately been put forth by the Religious Tract Society, in which the Inquisition is described as being "untrammelled by the forms of ordinary justice," as being actuated by "an evident desire to accuse and to convict," as "taking advantage of those symptoms of hesitation or weakness, which, amidst scenes of physical torture, will often beset the innocent;" in a word, as being essentially *blood-thirsty*. The popular Protestant idea of the Inquisition is of an institution especially on the *look-out* for victims; delighted at finding a number of criminals; disposed to listen to the most idle tales of denunciation, rather than remain unoccupied. Fraud and hypocrisy are supposed to be the means by which its unhappy victims were brought within the meshes of its net; false witness, trickery, intimidation and tortures to have stood in the place of a fair and open trial by judge and jury, &c., &c. This, I say, is the teaching of the Protestant tradition concerning the Inquisition; let us compare with it the testimony of facts.

Every session, or assizes (so to call it) of this "blood-thirsty court, always looking out for victims," was prefaced by a solemn promulgation of a limited period, a term of grace, within which, if any one who had apostatized from the faith would voluntarily confess his fault and surrender himself, he would be pardoned, or at least nothing but a *slight canonical* penance be imposed upon him. And when *the people seemed* disposed to avail themselves of this indulgence, *it was* usual to prolong the period for a second, or

a third time perhaps, before the court really began its strictly judicial proceedings. Thus, on one occasion we read of the original delay of forty days having been prolonged first by a period of sixty days, and then again by a still further period of thirty days. And not content even with this, it was also provided that, if the children of apostates who had participated in their parents' sin, and had not yet reached twenty years of age, should voluntarily surrender themselves even after the expiration of the latest period, they should still be admitted to the same privileges. Certainly, this does not look much like the act of a blood-thirsty and cruel tribunal, seeking by the most unscrupulous means to multiply the number of its prisoners. Neither does the decree of the second Grand Inquisitor of Spain—a man, nevertheless, who is represented by the Protestant historians as having been remarkably severe—whereby it was ordered that no man should be arrested for any trifling offence, as for instance, for words of blasphemy spoken in the heat of passion—an offence (be it remembered) for which he might have been arraigned before the *civil* tribunal of the period, and if found guilty, would have been punished by death; so much more mild and merciful are the laws of the Church than those of the state. Then again, as to the necessary preliminaries of an arrest, it is a favourite topic with the orators of Exeter Hall to descant upon this awful tribunal "tearing away, at the midnight hour, the husband from the bosom of his affectionate wife," "persons suddenly disappearing from the midst of society, their most intimate friends not knowing what was become of them," &c., &c. Now, as far as it is intended by this language to denote that the party accused was often apprehended at a time when he was least expecting it, we can have no wish to deny or dispute the fact. For, as we never yet heard that it was a part of Inspector Field's duty, or of Mr. Bucket's, to give a day's notice to those whom he happens to be in quest of, so we have no reason to suppose that, when once an arrest was determined upon by the *authorities of the Inquisition*, they gave the culprit any *special opportunities to* abscond. But, if it is intended to *insinuate that arrests* of innocent persons were made on

the slightest possible suspicion, and without sufficient preliminary caution and enquiry, this is utterly false; so much so, indeed, that it would be difficult to find any tribunal whose first steps in a process were more slowly and deliberately taken. It was by no means sufficient that some man should come forward and denounce another; he must establish the truth of his accusation by a competent number of witnesses, and he must prove to the satisfaction of the inquisitors (amongst whom were a lawyer and theologian, representatives of the court and of the Church respectively; and if these two were not of one mind, no further steps could be taken without the sanction of the Supreme Council,) that the offence charged amounted to heresy, and so rendered the culprit amenable to their jurisdiction. In fact, we are satisfied that it would be impossible to cite any civil tribunal, whether of ancient or of modern times, in which greater precautions were taken to arrive at a true knowledge of the facts, before the reputation or the liberty of the accused party was allowed to be prejudiced. And, indeed, it was this delicate regard for the character of the person accused that caused such secresy to be observed in the method of his arrest. A person arrested in his own home and in the dead of night, might hereafter, if acquitted, return to the bosom of his family and resume his station in society exactly as if nothing had ever happened. To many persons, the disgrace of a public arrest would be a far keener suffering even than a lengthened imprisonment; and it is to be observed too, that a private arrest in a man's own house, whilst concealing it from a man's enemies and from the public, was certainly the most secure means of making it known to those whose interest it was to know it, viz., to his own family.

We shall be told, however, that it was not only the very act of apprehension that was kept secret by the court of the Inquisition; but that an impenetrable veil of secresy hid also the accuser from the knowledge of the accused; the person accused was not confronted with the person who *accused him; he* did not even know his name; there was *every opportunity*, therefore, for malicious and calumnio *denunciations*, which might be supported, if necess

by perjury, since the names of the witnesses too were carefully concealed. No doubt, there were many grave inconveniences incident to this suppression of the accusers' and the witnesses' names; but so, also, on the other hand, would there have been many grave inconveniences attendant upon their publication; and the jurists and politicians of that generation accounted these to be the gravest. "It is clear," say the statutes of Torquemada, the first Spanish Grand Inquisitor under Ferdinand, "that the public declaration of the names of the witnesses might be very hurtful and dangerous to them, since cases have occurred, and do still occur, of heretics wounding, ill-treating, and even killing those who have deposed against them." The Protestant historian, Ranke, fully admits the justice of this allegation; and, indeed, it is most abundantly established by the very language of the Cortés, when applying to Charles V to introduce the opposite practice, for they say that the publication of the names of the witnesses cannot possibly be dangerous, "excepting in those cases where the person accused is a duke, count, margrave, bishop, or prelate;" or, we may add, any person having large sums of money at his command, or extensive political influence. Moreover, it must be remembered that the accuser was obliged to take an oath that he was not actuated by any private hatred in his denunciation; that any person proved to have accused, or borne witness against another falsely, was very severely punished, even *capitally* punished according to the laws of Pope Leo X; and in the annals of the Inquisition instances are by no means rare of accused persons being acquitted, and those who had given false witness against them being scourged, imprisoned, or banished. Furthermore, the accused had the privilege of naming all those whom he had any reason to believe to be his enemies, and whose evidence thereby became inadmissible; and, although he was not himself brought face to face with his accusers, yet they were examined in the presence of two priests, who were to act as his friends and advocates, *and to use every legitimate* weapon in his defence. The *depositions, also, when* taken, were read very carefully to the *risoner, and every* opportunity afforded him of refuting *em, even* (as in a case reported by Llorente,) to the sending

for witnesses from America, or any other distant part. The accused was at liberty to choose whom he would, among the advocates employed in the court, to carry on his defence; and if he were too poor to pay the necessary fees for the service of such advocate, the court paid them for him; and lastly, he could refuse, if he chose, to be tried by the judges of the local or provincial tribunal, in which case the Inquisitor-General was bound to substitute others, against whom there was no prejudice.

Surely, it must be allowed by all impartial observers, that there was in these numerous arrangements a very considerable counterpoise to the disadvantages attending the suppression of the accuser's name, and as perfect a guarantee for the strict administration of justice as the ingenuity of humanity could invent. We may add, also, on the other side of the question, that, on some points at least, the same consideration was not extended to the accuser: for instance, if the testimony which he adduced was not sufficient for the purpose, it was not permitted to postpone the hearing of the case on the pretence of procuring further evidence; the statutes of 1488 expressly provide, that the accused is not to be put to this inconvenient delay; if the evidence is insufficient, the case must be dismissed for the present; though, of course, it was open to the accuser to institute a fresh process upon additional evidence obtained at a later period.

But the Inquisition made use of torture, as one of the judicial means of getting at the truth; and this alone is abundantly sufficient to establish its character as an inhuman and bloody tribunal. We do not deny the charge; the Inquisition *did* use the torture as one of the means by which to ascertain the truth; but so also did every other court, lay as well as ecclesiastical, in every country of Europe at the same period. This was no special disgrace to be laid to the charge of the Inquisition: it was a practice that had prevailed in the judicial proceedings of Rome and Greece in ancient times, and had not yet been discontinued anywhere. The Inquisition, however, observed a moderation in its use that *we should look* for in vain elsewhere; for instance, it could *be resorted to* only once in each trial, and then under *closest medical* surveillance. It would have spared Ed-

Campion and the other Catholic martyrs of Queen Elizabeth's reign much cruel suffering, if the secular courts of England had adopted in those days this merciful rule, which yet had *always* prevailed in the "barbarous Inquisition." Moreover, it could not be used unless the inquisitors were *unanimous* in decreeing it. It never was used excepting where positive proof or strong presumptive evidence of guilt already existed; and as early as the year 1561, it was characterized in one of the edicts of the tribunal as "a *dangerous* means, to be employed only in extraordinary cases."* We conclude, therefore, that, on this point at least, Protestant objectors would do well to be silent; certainly, it is not for them to provoke a comparison which, if impartially examined by the light of historical facts, rather than of traditional prejudice, will be found to redound to the credit of the ecclesiastical, and the disgrace of the secular tribunals of those days. They should remember, also, all that history records about the use of the rack; of thrusting needles under the nails; of the *Scavenger's Daughter*, or a hoop, or circle of iron, "in which a man's whole body was as it were folded up, and his hands, feet, and head bound fast together;" of the *Little Ease*, a chamber in which a man could neither sit nor stand nor lie down; and of various other devices of torture which were used by the Protestant legislature of this country against Catholic priests, in order to make them confess where they had said mass, where they had printed their books, how they came into the country, who had relieved them, &c.†

As to the stories that are sometimes circulated among Protestants concerning the use of the torture by the Inquisition in modern times, they are utterly false. Even Bourgoing, the French infidel who has written so bitterly concerning the Spanish Inquisition, and boasted of having registered a vow of eternal hatred against it, yet acknowledges that "these tales of physical tortures are mere chimeras of the imagination, invented by the just hatred which men have against the institution, and propagated by credulity;" and the same *writer in another place*, speaking generally of the character *of the Inquisition as a court* of justice, says, "If one could

* *Kenrick on the Primacy*, p. 432, third edition.
† *See Challoner's Missionary Priests.*—Richardson and Son.

forgive the Inquisition the object of its institution and its forms of procedure, it might be cited as a model of equity. It takes every measure that is necessary to establish the exact truth of the depositions which it receives; it condemns nobody on the testimony of a single accuser or witness only, nor without thorough examination of the proofs. Before a man runs any risk of incurring its censures, he must have committed *many* offences, and offences such as in the opinion of strict Catholics are very grave."*

We have now sufficiently disposed of the principal objections that have been urged against the mode of procedure that was in use by the Inquisition; let us next turn our attention to the ordinary results of the trials that came before it; in other words, to the punishments that were inflicted. And first, it is to be noted that confession of guilt would at once have exempted the accused from all punishment, or at least have secured so great a mitigation of its rigour, that it would almost have ceased to deserve the name. What other tribunal is there, it has been justly asked, where a plea of *guilty* would be followed by such merciful consequences? "If the culprit acknowledges his guilt," says Le Maistre, "his *crime* then bears the character of *sin*, and *punishment* is commuted to *penance*. The culprit prays, fasts, and mortifies his body; instead of going to the place of execution, he recites the penitential psalms, hears mass, duly examines the state of his conscience, becomes contrite, confesses his sins, and finally is restored to his family and to society."† This happy result, however, was not always the issue of an Inquisitorial process. Many denied their guilt to the last, or confessed only to return to the evil of their ways again; and these have been eventually found guilty and condemned, and some of them have suffered death. This is true; nevertheless it cannot justly be made a subject of *special* invective against the Inquisition, that the crime of heresy was visited with capital punishment, since this was the universal practice of the age. Not only did Calvin condemn the heretic Servetus to the flames

* Tableau de l'Espagne, vol. I, p. 306.
† Letters on the Spanish Inquisition—Letter 2.

and write a treatise on the occasion, in which he undertook to prove by arguments drawn from reason and from Scripture that this was lawful and right, but Bucer also had counselled the same thing before it was done, and Beza, and even "the gentle Melancthon" commended it afterwards, as did also the Protestant synods of Zurich, Berne, and Basle. Moreover, when we consider that the same punishment was awarded by the civil laws of France and Germany at that period, for blasphemy, for all kinds of popular superstition, for unnatural crimes, and for forgery, for coining, or using in payment false money, for any considerable fraud in weights and measures, for highway robbery, or even for theft of *any* kind, if it were a second offence, it cannot be considered a just matter of surprise or complaint that offences against God, which endangered the eternal salvation of souls, should be visited with the same severity.

In our own days there is a very strong tendency in the public mind towards a complete abolition of capital punishments; or at least that they should be reserved only for such offences as murder, treason, and the like; but we should remember that even in our own country and down to the very century in which we live, our statute-book told a very different tale; the legislators of former ages proceeded on quite another theory. Not only were the offences we have named, and other heinous crimes, such as arson, burglary, and highway robbery, punishable by death; but forgery, sheep-stealing, horse-stealing, stealing game, picking pockets of anything worth more than a shilling, stealing a letter from the Post-Office, and a hundred other minor offences against the rights of private property were visited by the same penalty. Nor were these statutes a mere dead letter: it is said that in the reign of our first Protestant king, Henry VIII, no less than 22,000 persons were executed for theft; and as late as 1785, ninety-seven persons were hung in England for stealing in a shop above the value of five shillings. Under such circumstances as these, and, in a state of society when *the whole population* were of one faith it would have *been strange indeed* if blasphemy, heresy, apostacy, and *ther heinous offences* against Almighty God had been left *punished, or punished* only by a pecuniary fine, or by any-

thing short of death. At the same time it is important to observe, that though the Catholic governments of the period enacted such laws and executed them, yet the voice of the Holy See not unfrequently interfered, and always on the side of clemency. When St. Louis, King of France, for example, ordered that all blasphemers should have their tongues pierced with a red-hot iron, Pope Clement the Fourth rebuked him for his severity, and requested him to mitigate it; and writing to the King of Navarre at the same time, he distinctly says, "It is not right *(non decet)* that you should imitate our well-beloved son, the King of France, in the severity of his punishments against crimes of this sort."

Moreover, the Inquisition did not itself pronounce sentence of death upon anybody. It did but investigate the question of fact; it was a tribunal for the discovery of heretics; it was to discharge one function of the episcopal office, which, in consequence of the peculiar circumstances of the times, the Bishops had scarcely the leisure or the ability adequately to discharge themselves. It was no new court, inventing new laws and new penalties for heresy; it was simply a court of enquiry to ascertain whether a man was a heretic, or was not. The Inquisitors were so many jurymen, sworn to give a verdict according to the evidence brought before them, whether or not a charge of heresy was proved against this or that individual: they had to settle the question of "guilty" or "not guilty:" and then the laws, *already in existence*, awarded the appropriate penalty. If a man was found guilty, they left him, as it was said, to the civil power; and not even this was done without a strong and earnest recommendation to mercy. The verdict ran in these words: "We declare that the said N.N. ought to be, and he hereby is, abandoned to justice and the secular arm. We, however, beg, and most affectionately charge, in the strongest, and best manner in our power, that he may be treated with kindness and mercy."* That this recommendation was not attended to, concerns the character of the secular power, not that of the *ecclesiastical*. The Church did but act in strict accordance *with her ancient* traditions and uniform practice in making

* Le Maistre, Letter 1.

recommendation; and that she was faithful to these, is all that a Catholic need care to establish. As long ago as the days of the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius, the state had found it necessary, when decreeing capital punishment against those who had perpetrated enormous outrages against religion or its ministers, to caution those whose duty it was to carry out the law, that they should not wait for the interference of the Bishops, lest thereby the law should be frustrated: "let not the governor wait," it was decreed, "for the demand of justice by the Bishop who hath suffered injury, *since the holiness of his office leaves to him the glory of pardoning.*" It was this same "holiness of office" which caused the Inquisition wherever it was a strictly ecclesiastical tribunal, to be always characterised by mildness and mercy. In the laws and instructions drawn up by the archbishops and bishops of the South of France* for the guidance of Friars-Preachers, who had just then been appointed Inquisitors by the Holy See, we find them expressly exhorted never to condemn any one but on his own confession, or on the clearest proofs of guilt, since "it is better," they say, "that crime should go unpunished, than that an innocent man should be found guilty;" always carefully to apportion the penalty to the offence, and never to inflict a pecuniary fine; lastly, canonical penances only are enjoined, and none but the relapsed or the incorrigible are abandoned to the secular arm. And under the action of this purely ecclesiastical tribunal, we read of scarcely a single execution during twenty years. Of the Inquisition, as it was in Rome, there are not wanting high authorities to affirm that "it has *never* been known to pronounce the execution of capital punishment;" and though this statement has been accused of inaccuracy, yet it is unquestionable that such executions were extraordinarily rare; and exactly in proportion to the preponderance of the influence of Rome, that is, of a purely Catholic and ecclesiastical spirit, mercy and gentleness have always prevailed. In Spain, the Inquisition was severe, because, as we shall presently see, it was more of a civil and *political nature*, and acted in opposition to Rome; yet even *here the presence* of the ecclesiastical element was at least *attested by that* recommendation to mercy which has been

* In a Council held at Narbonne, A.D. 1235.

mentioned. Even Protestant and infidel writers themselves are not unfrequently obliged to confess the truth of what I am saying on this subject. Thus, almost the first words which Voltaire has to say upon the Inquisition are these: "the most violent enemy the Popes ever had was the ardent protector of the Inquisition. Frederic II, whom the Pope sometimes accused of Mahometanism, sometimes of Atheism, protected the Inquisition most rigidly, and strictly enjoined that secular judges should burn all whom that tribunal condemned as heretics," &c.; and again and again, he remarks on "the far greater leniency of the Inquisition in Rome and Italy, where the influence of the Popes was greatest, than in Spain and Sicily, where, he says, it was not a Roman tribunal, but a privilege of the crown." Even the popular Account of the Inquisition, published by the Religious Tract Society in this country, to which I have already alluded, acknowledges that it "sometimes set at defiance the remonstrances of pontiffs themselves;" and again, "the unjust severities practised by this tribunal in Portugal excited the reclamations of Pope Paul III himself, who, *with only partial success*, urged upon the inquisitors greater forbearance;" and once more, "the Inquisition gradually passed from a spiritual court to a tribunal taking cognizance of secular matters; from being a religious, it became mainly a political instrument."

Still, however, it is not to be denied that the Inquisition did deliver heretics to the arm of the secular power, knowing that they would be put to death; and that they sanctioned the visitation of heresy and other spiritual offences by temporal punishments of various kinds; and it may be said that it is this which is the great offence, the unpardonable crime, for which the Inquisition is to be branded with the note of cruelty and intolerance. Now I cannot in this place go into an examination of the *principle* involved in this question; it is not a question which belongs *peculiarly* to the Inquisition, but to the whole system of mediæval politics, and it requires to be treated separately by itself. One remark, however *I will make, in* passing, which may tend to open t *eyes of some* Protestants and dispel something of the *judice in which* the subject is involved:—We all

with what unction Protestant orators preach, both in pulpits and at public meetings, about the right of freedom of opinion, religious liberty, private judgment, and the rest; we know how eloquently they speak, how fluently they write, how enthusiastically they toast at public dinners all these fine principles. But let us pass from the region of fine talking to the more humble and necessary task of plain *doing;* let us see how they *act* upon their principles. There have recently been very numerous opportunities of putting this to the test. Throughout the length and breadth of the land, there have been, within the last few years, innumerable conversions from the various ranks of Protestantism into the fold of the Catholic Church; it has been the tenth and last plague of Egypt *reversed.* As, on that occasion, "Pharao arose in the night, and all his servants, and all Egypt; and there arose a great cry in Egypt, for there was not a house wherein there lay not one dead," so there has been a great cry in England, because there was not a house, certainly not a town or neighbourhood, wherein there has not one been raised to life. There the destroying angel passed through the land, inflicting temporal death; here the angel of grace has passed through the land, conferring spiritual life. And what has been the nature of the cry that has risen up in consequence? I do not now speak of the public acts of the legislature, though these too have not been insignificant; but I speak of our Protestant fellow-countrymen in their *private* capacity; and I ask how have Protestants practically treated this exercise of private judgment on the part of various members of their families and households, in becoming Catholics? Have not sons and daughters been summarily expelled from the home of their infancy, and from their parents' sight? Has not the erring member of the family been debarred from all communication with other members for a long period of years, perhaps, even for life? And what is all this but *persecution;* persecution on a small scale and within narrow limits, it may be, yet inflicting the keenest suffering on those who are the *victims of it; and* proceeding from the very same principles *as those which they* so loudly object against in us. A son is *driven from his father's* house, and denied all access to his *brothers and sisters,* "lest he should pervert them;" and

what does a Catholic sovereign more than this, when he banishes an heretical subject from his dominions, or shuts him up in a prison? A father withdraws all pecuniary assistance from a son or daughter who has become a Catholic, or gives them barely enough to find a maintenance in some decently respectable boarding-house; and what is this, in principle and in effect, but confiscation of goods? It is true, indeed, that Protestant parents do not punish their convert children with death; but then, it is also true that they *cannot*. And have there been no fathers, and even mothers, who have said of their children, under the circumstances to which I have been alluding, that they would rather have seen them dead—they would rather have lived to follow their coffins to the grave than see them the slaves of priests—the professors of such grovelling superstitions?* O! have not Protestants good cause to repeat the words of Robert Burns,—

O! would some Power the giftie gie us
To see ourselves as ithers see us.

If Protestants could but see themselves in a looking-glass, when they are speaking and acting in the manner I have described, would they not mistake themselves for Catholics—for "bigoted, intolerant, persecuting Catholics?"

Perhaps, however, we shall be told that it is not the mere fact that obstinate heresy and apostacy were crimes visited with severe temporal punishments, and that the inquisitors, in their capacity of jurymen, pronounced a verdict of guilty, which, as a matter of fact, was ordinarily followed by execution,—that this is not the real charge brought against that tribunal, but rather that it was so extremely severe in passing these sentences. We shall be told that it was the *number* of capital punishments inflicted in consequence of the verdict of inquisitors, which has justly earned for them the bloody character which they have always borne. Let us inquire, therefore, what that number really was. The authority usually alleged on this subject is Llorente, whose testimony belongs only to the Inquisition in Spain, and, moreover, is very exceptionable in itself. A bad priest and a venal historian, a dismissed official of the Inquisition, and writing for the express purpose of painting it in the most odious cha-

* See Newman's Lectures on Catholicism in England, p. 176

ters, in order to justify its suppression, he is justly liable to suspicion wherever his assertions cannot be supported by other independent testimony. Moreover, he took very certain precautions that nobody should be able to convict him in all his mis-statements, for he himself destroyed a greater part of the official documents from which he professed to have taken them. This, alone, would be sufficient to impugn his trustworthiness in the opinion of all unprejudiced persons; yet, it is his work, and his only, which has been the great storehouse of weapons in the hands of infidels and Protestants against the Holy Office. We think we might fairly object to his evidence being admitted at all. Nevertheless, in default of other witnesses, let him be brought into court, and let us see what his testimony will amount to.

The Inquisition was established in Spain in the year 1480; and Llorente tells us that, *in the very next year, the tribunal of Seville alone burnt no less than* 2000 *persons belonging to the dioceses of Seville and Cadiz.* This certainly is a frightful statement, *if it were only true;* but, unfortunately for the author's reputation for honesty, he professes to quote here from the work of a celebrated Spanish historian and Jesuit, Father Mariana; and on referring to the original work, it is found that this total is given, *not for one year and one place, but for all parts of Spain, and throughout the whole period of Torquemada's inquisitorship, a period of fifteen years;* moreover, that Mariana only mentions it as a report. Surely, a man who could substitute for a yearly average of 133 persons throughout the whole of Spain the sum of 2000 in one city, has forfeited all conceivable claim to be considered a trustworthy witness, more especially when his assertions are aimed against the reputation of men, famous in their generation for learning and piety. But still, it may be said, at least the testimony of Mariana is unexceptionable, and that 2000 persons burnt for heresy is a large number, even when spread over a whole country and a period of fifteen years. Undoubtedly, it is; but the *fact is, that they* were *not* all burnt for heresy; and at *this distance of time,* and Llorente himself having destroyed, *as we have* said, the documents of the Inquisition, *have no means of* ascertaining how few or how many of

them suffered for that cause. Heresy was a crime which came under the jurisdiction of the inquisitors, but it was not the only crime of which they took cognizance. In Spain they were the guardians, not only of the public faith, but also of the public morals. More than a dozen other offences are recognized even in the pages of Llorente himself; such as blasphemy, sacrilege, usury, polygamy, treason, and, above all, all kinds of sorcery and magic. It is very important to remember this last head of crimes, because, if we may judge of Spain by what we know of other countries about the same time, it would be by far the most common of all; *and those who were guilty of it would have as certainly suffered the penalty of death in a Protestant country, and by the express commands of the chief ministers of Protestantism, as in Spain, by the sentence of the Inquisition.* In one single Protestant town in Germany, (Nordlingen,) containing not more than six thousand inhabitants, thirty-five persons were put to death in four years, (A.D. 1590-1594,) on the charge of being witches, or having used sorceries and enchantment of some kind. Now, if we apply this last proportion to the population of Spain, it would give us a total of not less than fifty thousand who should have suffered death for this one cause alone, during the same short period of four years—a multitude, by the side of which two thousand in fifteen years, and for a variety of crimes, becomes almost insignificant. But, not even Llorente himself pretends to say that many more than half that number,—which, according to the average of Protestant severity, might have been expected to suffer death in four years for witchcraft alone,—really fell victims to "the blood-thirsty Inquisition" during the whole period of its existence in Spain, nearly three centuries and a half. He estimates the whole number of executions at something like thirty thousand. Experience, however, having taught us that we should not trust his figures too implicitly, let us see how he has arrived at this conclusion. In the first place, he does not profess to have got it from a careful inspection of official documents, either public or private; it is simply a matter of *calculation* and conjecture, and taking of average *upon certain data* which he has collected relatively to t *subject in hand.* But we have seen that he has rath

rough way of handling arithmetical statements and dealing in round numbers, and we must not forget that this very error, which we have now exposed, is one which enters into the basis of the calculation whose result has been stated above. Nor is this the only important error which we are able to detect. At first, the tribunal of the Holy Office for all Spain was established only at Seville, and all who were condemned to death were brought to that city to be executed; afterwards, there were three other tribunals erected in the provinces, and, by and bye, their number was still further increased to eleven. Now, of course, this multiplication of tribunals could only divide the number of sentences and executions in each place; it could have no effect in multiplying the number of crimes and sentences. Yet, Llorente has gravely assumed the contrary, and distinctly says, that with the increased number of courts "the crimes must needs increase in the same proportion," and, *therefore*, the sentences and executions must increase also; and this, again, is another item which enters into the basis of his calculation. By a third error, scarcely less important, he assigns the same number of trials and sentences to the different courts established in Arragon as to those in Castile, whilst, yet, it is notorious that the Jews were five times as numerous in Castile as they were in Arragon, and, consequently, the number of *Murranos*, or Jews making an outward profession of Christianity—against whom, especially, the Spanish Inquisition was aimed—must probably have been five times greater also. Lastly he takes the average of executions which he has discovere or imagined under the inquisitorship of Torquemada, who he describes as a most severe and unforgiving judge, a he applies the same to the judicial reigns of Ximer and others, who were notoriously of a mild and ger character.

No more need be said, we think, to prove that Llorer calculations ought never to be adduced by any one *aims not at producing* a rhetorical effect, nor gaini *platform victory*, but at elucidating the truth; the *thousand victims* must be allowed to dwindle down *it is quite impossible* to make any conjecture fou

reasonable evidence as to the actual number. We will only mention one more instance of Llorente's habitual carelessness, and then leave this branch of the subject. Every one knows that after the conquest of Granada, Ferdinand and Isabella issued an edict, by which all Jews were obliged to leave the country; and Llorente states the number of exiled Jews at eight hundred thousand. He again appeals to Mariana as his authority; but on examination, it appears that Mariana mentions that sum only to reject it, declaring it to be a gross exaggeration and utterly incredible! Another Spanish historian, after reckoning the exiles carefully province by province, puts the total at thirty thousand families, and about one hundred thousand individuals; and even the Protestant Prescott, with an express reference to this falsification of Llorente's, says, that they were probably about one hundred and sixty thousand, certainly not more than one hundred and seventy thousand, and that Llorente's "estimates are most improbable, and grossly exaggerated." If, then, we might be allowed to take the same proportion (about one-fifth) of Llorente's total of the victims of the Inquisition, what would become of the plea that the *number* of capital punishments inflicted by that tribunal, has justly earned it its bloody reputation? Six thousand in three hundred years would not be so very alarming a total, remembering that twenty-two thousand suffered in England for theft during the thirty-eight years of one reign; and that nearly three thousand would have suffered during a period of three centuries, in the little town of Nordlingen, already mentioned, had not the taste for witchcraft, or the Protestant zeal for punishing it, grown fainter than it was during the years 1590-1594. We need not say, that we by no means insist upon this number of six thousand, as being an approximation to the truth, though, perhaps, it may have better claims to be considered such than Llorente's thirty thousand; but thanks to Llorente himself, the *extent* of his inaccuracies and falsifications can never be ascertained. At the same time, we should remember that Balmez, who, as a Spaniard, was likely to have as accurate information on this subject as could be, distinctly says, that "as to the number of persons

perished on the scaffold or died in exile, we challenge the two nations who claim to be at the head of civilization, France and England, to show us their statistics on that subject at the same time, and to compare them with ours; we do not fear the comparison."

But what then, we shall be asked, becomes of all those *autos da fé*, so famous in the pages of Protestant historians, so affecting to the audiences of Exeter Hall? Here, again, the great Protestant tradition has so thoroughly gained possession of the public mind, as to have attached a meaning to this particular word, which, probably, it will never lose. If the question were to be proposed to any public assembly in England, what is an *auto da fé*? the ready answer would be, that it was the public execution of heretics condemned by the Spanish Inquisition, a frightful ceremony for which, nevertheless, the Spanish people, both rich and poor, had a most extraordinary taste; on the one side a vast preparation of fire, stakes and faggots, and a procession of miserable victims, clad in flame-coloured garments, approaching to their cruel punishment, and on the other, a crowd of noble lords and ladies, of persons of rank and distinction, as well as of the populace, eager to enjoy the spectacle, and (it is generally added) the brutal and fanatical inquisitors presiding over the whole, and taking a savage delight in witnessing the torments of the sufferers. Such, we say, in the main, would be the definition of an *auto da fé*, given by any ordinary Protestant; and if a Catholic would not give the same, the difference would be rather in the motives which he would assign to the spectators than in any of the main features of the scene. But, what is the truth? "An *auto da fé*, or act of faith, *(actus fidei,)* consisted neither in burning, nor in putting to death in any other way, but simply in pronouncing sentence on those prisoners who had been tried. In many instances, an *auto da fé* was simply the acquittal of persons who had been falsely accused, or the reconciling to the church of those who had repented; *so that there were many* in which nothing was burnt, save *the wax candles which* were held by the reconciled penitents, *a token of the light* of faith that had been re-kindled *within them." In these* cases, therefore, it was an act of

mercy, not of cruelty, and an edifying spectacle, at which devout Catholics might well love to be present. As soon as the reconciliation of the penitents was over, those heretics who were obstinate, or those whose offences were against the civil rather than the ecclesiastical laws, were handed over to the secular authorities; *the auto da fé was now ended, and the inquisitors retired*, and the execution of the convicts did not take place, perhaps, until the following day. How complete a revolution does this simple statement make in all popular notions of the Inquisition! For instance, we read of an *auto da fé* at Toledo on the 12th of February, 1486, at which seven hundred and fifty culprits were punished; and immediately a fiery furnace seems to rise before the eyes of our imagination, infinitely more fierce and terrible than that of Nebuchodonosor; a scene before which, even the Protestant vision of the Smithfield fires must needs fade away into utter darkness. But, what was the reality? Not one of these victims suffered death; they had some canonical penance inflicted on them, and were restored to the communion of the church. On the 2nd of April, in the same year and in the same place, "there was another *auto da fé*, and nine hundred *victims*," says Llorente. What, *all* burnt alive? No, not one. Again, on the first of May, and on the 10th of December, still in the same year, there were two more of these exhibitions; in one were seven hundred and fifty, in the other nine hundred and fifty; and, again, not one capital punishment. In fact, during the whole of that year, Llorente does not enumerate more than thirty persons who were condemned to death.

Another fault which has been often alleged against the Inquisition, besides its cruelty, is the encouragement which it gave to covetousness. It has been contended that Inquisitors themselves came into possession of the confiscated property of those whom they condemned. But this is contrary to the fact. The confiscated property went to the treasury of the king; and so early as the year 1496, we have a *letter from Ferdinand* to the Pope, complaining that th *inquisitors in* numerous instances had made over the p *perty of the convicts* to their wives and families, great

the detriment of the royal exchequer. Few persons, at least, will be disposed to upbraid them for this act of charity. The judges of the Inquisition were paid by the king a certain fixed salary every three months; and when, at a later period, it was proposed that they should deduct this salary from the confiscated monies that might have been received during the quarter, and that the remainder only should be paid into the royal coffers, the crown would not consent to this arrangement, for, although the judges were really appointed by the king, and were in truth his servants, yet he somehow contrived that the church should bear the greater portion of the expenses of the tribunal, and did not choose that this convenient economy should be disturbed by the proposed measure.

Hitherto, we have confined ourselves to exposing the falsehood of the general Protestant notions concerning the Spanish Inquisition, as though it were a matter in which we had a special and necessary interest as Catholics; as though it were a purely ecclesiastical instrument, authorized, if not invented by the Holy See, for whose deeds, therefore, we were justly responsible. But this, again, is utterly false. The Spanish Inquisition might have been everything, and worse than everything, that its most violent calumniators have pretended; and yet, as Catholics, we should not have been concerned to defend it. For, first—it was a royal and political, rather than an ecclesiastical, tribunal; and secondly—its severity was resisted again and again, and often successfully resisted, by many of the Popes. The proof of both these propositions is at hand. Ranke, the Protestant historian, distinctly says, that "the Spanish Inquisition was a royal judicature, furnished with spiritual weapons;" "in its nature and in its object, it was a purely political institute;" and Guizot and Leo have said the same thing. The king himself nominated the inquisitors; he could also dismiss them at pleasure. *He maintained laymen* as members of the council against *the most earnest endeavours*, not only of the highest eccle*iastic authorities in the* land, but of the Grand Inquisitor *mself. In fact, it* was essentially a royal tribunal, in

which ecclesiastical officers presided, receiving their jurisdiction, however, in this court from the crown and not from the Pope, But, secondly—the severity of its proceedings was disapproved of by the Holy See, and continually condemned. It had not been in operation more than a single year, before Pope Sixtus IV. entered his most emphatic protest against its cruelty, and complained that the Bull for its establishment had been obtained from him by false pretensions, or at least, without sufficiently acquainting him with the mode in which it was intended to be employed. He wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella, that, "mercy towards the guilty was more pleasing to God than the severity which they were using," and he insisted on the example of the good shepherd following the wandering sheep. Both Sixtus and his immediate successors employed their best efforts to check and remedy its abuses. "The Pope, anxious and displeased at what was going on, appointed a new functionary to reside on the spot, with the office of Judge of Appeals from the Inquisition, in favour of the condemned; and when this expedient was evaded, he appointed special judges for particular cases; and lastly, when the cruelty of the Spanish government and its officials, lay and ecclesiastical, defeated this second attempt to ameliorate the evil, then he encouraged the sufferers to flee to Rome, where he took them under his own protection. In this way it is recorded, that, in one year, he rescued two hundred and thirty persons, and two hundred in another. Sometimes he directly interfered in Spain itself; in the beginning of one year he liberated fifty heretics, and fifty more a month or two later; three further interpositions of mercy are recorded within the year. Sometimes he set aside and annulled the judgments passed; sometimes he managed to rescue the condemned from the infamy and evil consequences of the sentence; sometimes he actually summoned, censured, and excommunicated the inquisitor, and often he took the part of the children of those whose property was forfeited to the crown. Moreover, he refused to allow *the Spanish* government to introduce their Inquisition *into Naples*, or the Milanese, which then belonged *Spain, from his* disapprobation of its rigour."*

* *Newman's* Lectures on Catholicism in England. p. 202

Was ever opposition more firm, more undisguised, more doggedly obstinate in assuming new forms as each new emergency arose, than this opposition between the Popes of Rome and the Kings of Spain, upon this matter of the Inquisition? And yet, the Popes, forsooth, are to bear the whole responsibility of what they so strenuously condemned, as though it had all been their own act and deed, instead of being the act of rebels against their supreme authority. The number of causes, begun in the Spanish Inquisition and carried by appeal to Rome, is countless; and in every one of them the accused party ameliorated his condition by means of the appeal; yet, Rome is to be represented as the very "hotbed of bigotry and intolerance—the firebrand of persecution!" Rome is, undoubtedly, the heart and centre of the Catholic Church; and in one sense, it is true to say, that she is most bigoted and intolerant. She condemns heresy and error wherever she detects it, with a zeal and a certainty all her own; "her faith is spoken of throughout the whole world," and "false doctrine can have no access to her;" she watches for its insidious approach with the eye of a lynx; and when once discovered, she will never listen to any compromise, but is inexorable in her denunciation of it, whatever it may be; but on the other hand, she is most tolerant of the person erring—most merciful and compassionate in her treatment of him. She seeks to win him to the truth by the gentle voice of instruction and the light of sound doctrine; this was the first and leading idea of the Inquisition, as established by the Popes: "the ignorance of these nations," it was said in a Bull of the year 1530, speaking of the Moors, "is one of the principal causes of their faults and errors; the first thing to be done, therefore, to render their conversion solid and sincere, is to endeavour to enlighten their minds with sound doctrine;" this was what caused the friars-preachers to be so intimately connected with its administration; this, according to the acknowledgment of Llorente himself, was *the primary* object of Cardinal Ximenes as Grand-Inquisitor *in Spain. And if* kings and statesmen chose, for their *own ends, and spite of* the remonstrances of the church, to *pervert this idea,* and to change the institution into a

political engine for the punishment of dangerous citizens, it is a manifest injustice to lay this to the account of the Church and the inherent viciousness of the institution itself. Yet, such is the ordinary injustice of English Protestants, in speaking or writing on this subject: they first paint the institution a thousand times more fierce and formidable than the facts of history, when truthfully and soberly narrated, at all warrant, and then they assign to it an authority which is not responsible for it, which has always and stedfastly resisted it. If we would wish to know what the Inquisition really was, when energizing in its true and proper character, as an ecclesiastical tribunal, we must study its history as it was in Rome; and of this we have already spoken. Indeed, the most triumphant justification of the Roman Inquisition is to be found in the silence of its enemies, at a time when they had it in their power to publish to the world the true account of its most hidden deeds from the very earliest period of its history. Its archives were taken possession of by Napoleon and transported to Paris; yet, no authentic account of their contents has ever been made public, assuredly, through no spirit of forbearance or consideration for the character of the Roman inquistors, but from want of material to excite the public indignation and to justify the violent prejudice with which the tribunal was popularly regarded.

What, then, is the sum and substance of what I would say concerning the Inquisition? It is briefly this: that, as established or recognized by the church, and in as far as it has been used in strict obedience to her directions, and as her instrument, it was an institution holy in its object, just in its measures, and beneficial in its results; that the popular notions which prevail about it in this country are based upon falsehood, nurtured by prejudice and credulity, perpetuated by a false tradition; that, of those objections which are most generally urged against it, some, such *as the concealment* of the accuser's and witnesses' *names, were a necessary* consequence of the circumstances *out of which it took its* rise, and the crimes of those again

whom it was directed; others again, such as the use of torture in the examination of witnesses, were common to it with all the secular courts of justice throughout the world, only used by the Inquisition with greater caution and moderation than elsewhere; that where acts of real severity and cruelty can be justly charged against it, they were the sins of individuals acting in disobedience to the Pope, and most commonly the crimes of sovereigns using the court for secular and political purposes, and they were uniformly reprobated, and as far as possible remedied, by the Sovereign Pontiffs; lastly, that, even in these latter cases, the inquisitors did but act on the very same principles as those which Protestants are acting upon all around us every day, and believe they are serving God in so doing.

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Indulgences.

The Catholic Church uses words of her own to express her own doctrines; and therefore the first thing that any one has to do, who wishes to know what the Church really teaches, is to learn to attach the Church's meaning to the Church's words. It is just so much lying and slandering, to take the words the Church uses, and, putting our own interpretation upon them, accuse her of teaching the very contrary, perhaps, of what she does teach.

Yet this is what Protestants have done, and are constantly doing, in the matter of Catholic doctrines; and in nothing, perhaps, more pertinaciously than in the subject of which I am about to speak. They have caught hold of the word *Indulgence*; and instead of inquiring what it meant as used by Catholics, they have given it the first meaning that came to hand, and then have attributed to the teaching of the Catholic Church what, in fact, was an invention of their own. They know that, in common language, an *indulgent* parent is one who overlooks his child's faults, humours all his fancies, yields to all his wishes, and does not punish him even for his disobediences to himself. Well, then, they conclude this must be what Papists mean by an indulgence, and what the Pope does when he grants an indulgence; he winks at the sins of the people, and pretends that God winks at them too, however heinous they may be. "Oh, yes," they say, with a confident air, "an indulgence is an easy way of pardoning sin." Or they go further, and assert, that it is a pardon for sins to come; a man may sin, for the next ten, twenty, forty years—nay, he may go on sinning all the *rest of his life*—and all his sins are forgiven him before *hand; and so* they say that, in granting an indulgence,

Pope pretends, in fact, to give what Almighty God Himself, with all His omnipotence, has not the power to give,—leave to commit sin for the future. I hope to make quite clear before I have done what an indulgence really is, and how the word is really used by Catholics themselves, who must surely know best what it is they believe; my object being not only to state what the doctrine is, but to enter a little into the meaning of it.

First, then, let me say that an indulgence is not a pardon for sin at all; much less is it any thing so impious as a permission to commit sin. It has nothing to do with the future; it is concerned only with the past; and it never has any effect whatever except in the case of sins which have been previously forgiven. In short, an indulgence is *the remission of the temporal punishment remaining due to sin after the guilt of sin has been forgiven.*

The distinction between guilt and punishment is so plain, that it seems hardly worth while to say a word in explanation. A father may have entirely forgiven his child for some offence; the child may, by his sorrow, have shown himself worthy of this forgiveness, and nevertheless the father may not withhold the threatened chastisement. Sin is an offence by thought, word, or deed against God. The *guilt* of sin continues as long as the will remains turned away from God; so long as the will is turned away from God, it is impossible for the sin to be forgiven or the guilt remitted; and the turning back of the will to God—that is, the sorrow of the sinner for his sin and his purpose of amendment—is the invariable and indispensable condition of forgiveness at all times, without any possible exception. *Punishment*, on the other hand, is the penalty which sin draws after it as its consequence. As long as the guilt of any sin remains, so long the punishment remains due, and cannot be remitted; God Himself cannot relax or remit the punishment as long as the soul remains in such a state, because of the perfection of His own justice. It is from this that the eternity of punishment arises. They whose will is eternally alienated from God, owe a debt of eternal punishment to His justice.

They who die in a state of mortal sin fall into the reprobate condition in which the devils are; their will being eternally turned from God, their punishment must last for ever, without remission.

Actual sins are of two kinds. Some sins are mortal, that is to say, they destroy grace in the soul, they kill the soul; this is the meaning of the word "mortal:" a mortal sin is a sin that causes the *death* of the soul. Other sins are venial; by which is meant, not that they are simply excusable, or not displeasing to God, or not dangerous to the soul, but that they do not drive grace out of it, they do not cut the soul off from God, they do not kill it; they may inflict great wounds, and do much injury to the soul, but they do not cause its death. Well, the punishment due for sin is of two kinds also. There is a punishment which is *eternal*, and there is a punishment which is *temporal*. Eternal punishment, which is the penalty due for mortal sin, can be remitted in this life only; but whenever the guilt of sin is remitted, the eternal punishment is, by God's mercy, remitted also. Not so, however, the temporal punishment which is the invariable consequence of every sin, of whatever kind it be. While eternal punishment is due only for mortal or deadly sins, temporal punishment is due for *every* sin which man commits. Wherever eternal punishment is due, temporal punishment is due also; but temporal punishment alone is due for venial sins. In general terms, therefore, temporal punishment is due for every mortal sin forgiven, and for every venial sin, whether forgiven or unforgiven.

Now the guilt of sin may be forgiven, and the eternal punishment may be remitted, yet the temporal punishment may remain due. On this great truth, viz. that temporal punishment for sin remains after the guilt of sin is gone—on this great truth rests the doctrine of indulgences.

We have incidental proofs of it in holy Scripture. If we turn to the very first sin that man committed, we find that, besides the eternal punishment of death in its fullest sense, which *was due for it*, there was also a temporal punishment *inflicted by God*. First of all there was the death of t

body, which is the temporal punishment of original sin, and which is not remitted even in the regenerating waters of baptism, although baptism confers a *plenary* indulgence on the worthy receiver; that is to say, it bestows a full and perfect remission of all punishment, temporal and eternal, together with all sin original and actual. But there were other punishments besides: for the woman there was sorrow in childbirth, and subjection to her husband; and for the man there was labour and toil, in the sweat of his face to eat bread (for a time only, as it was *temporal* punishment) *till* he should return to the earth (Gen. iii. 16-19). Again, Mary, the sister of Moses, received a seven days' punishment from God after Moses had interceded for her forgiveness (Numb. xii. 14); and both Moses and Aaron were punished with a temporal punishment for their want of faith, in not being allowed to enter the promised land (xx. 12). We see the distinction again most clearly drawn by God Himself, through Nathan the prophet, in the case of King David. He had committed the sins of murder and adultery; but he repented of them and confessed them: "And David said to Nathan, I have sinned against the Lord;" then the guilt and eternal punishment of his sin was forgiven him, for Nathan said to David, the Lord also hath taken away thy sin: thou shalt not die;" and yet, notwithstanding the forgiveness of the sin, its temporal punishment still remained due: "Nevertheless, because thou hast given occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme, for this thing the child that is born to thee shall surely die" (2 Kings xii. 13, 14). And the other temporal punishments to which God had sentenced him (v. 11), before the sin was forgiven, were yet exacted even after its forgiveness; and Absolom, his own son, was the instrument of their fulfilment. Another instance is when "David's heart struck him, after the people were numbered" (xxiv. 10): although his sin was forgiven him on repentance, yet God gave him the choice of three kinds of temporal punishment, and sent a pestilence, by which seventy thousand of his recently numbered people were taken from him.

These passages alone are sufficient to show that God inflicts temporal punishment for sins, the guilt and eternal punishment of which He has forgiven.

But this is not all. There is sufficient also to show that such temporal punishment may also be remitted. For David sought to avert the threatened chastisement, saying (2 Kings xii. 22), "Who knoweth whether the Lord may not give him to me, and the child may live?" That is to say, David hoped for an indulgence from God,—a remission of the temporal punishment with which he had been threatened; and David, the favoured servant of God, could not have been so ignorant as to hope for that which was never in any case granted. Again, in Numbers xiv., we have an example of God substituting, or commuting, a lesser temporal punishment for a greater. When the Lord was angry at the people of Israel for murmuring against Him, but was appeased by the intercessory prayer of Moses, He pardoned them their sin, and remitted the punishment of immediate destruction which He had denounced against them; but substituted for the latter a less grievous chastisement, viz. that they should not see the promised land, which was accomplished in their all dying in the wilderness. This may be called a *partial* indulgence, when a part and not the whole of the temporal punishment was remitted.

But Protestants, putting aside these express examples of holy Scripture, throw themselves for support, as they always do, on their own notions and ideas. What God says or does is as nothing to them: His thoughts and His ways must bend to their thoughts and their ways. It is as if they knew better than God Himself what it is fitting for Him to do; and so they say that to punish men for a forgiven sin is inconsistent with His infinite love and mercy. To such an objection as this, one fact ought to be a sufficient answer. God forgave the sin of Adam and Eve, but He did not remit the temporal punishment of that sin—death. He remits original sin in their descendants, but He still *inflicts the temporal* punishment due unto it; for "it is *appointed unto all* men once to die." As a matter of fa

then, God did and does punish men for a forgiven sin. Adam sinned, was pardoned, and was afterwards punished for that very pardoned sin. He was justified, and yet he was punished. He was eternally forgiven, yet temporally punished. This fact alone, independently of any express testimony from God, would be enough to teach us that what God did in the case of our first parents, and still does in the matter of original sin, He does also in the case of all actual sin generally. He forgives the sin, yet punishes the sinner with a temporal punishment.

Now our God is a God of perfect and infinite justice; He punishes every man according to his works, that is, He proportions His punishments to the sins of His creatures. He has different degrees of punishment for different degrees of sin. There are the "few stripes" and the "many;" there is the fire that burns and yet "saves;" there is the prison from which the sufferer escapes when he has "paid the last farthing." The sufferings of Purgatory* are temporal sufferings, for they last not for ever, but only for a time. If, then, the punishment, or satisfaction, due for forgiven sin is not paid in this life, it remains to be paid in the next.

Nor is there any thing in this inconsistent with God's infinite love to man. His infinite love is shown in the very fact that He remits the eternal punishment due to sin, and inflicts only a temporal punishment, between which and the eternal punishment there is no proportion whatever. It is not that He remits only a *part* of the punishment due to sin: He remits the whole; for temporal punishment is no part of eternal punishment. Eternal punishment is due to (mortal) sin unforgiven; temporal, to sin forgiven. He who argues from this dispensation of God's justice against His infinite mercy, knows neither what sin is, nor what eternity, in other words, what hell is.

But, after all, God does remit this temporal punishment even in this life; how then can He be said to be *wanting in love*? He remits it in baptism, as I have said,

* *See No. 53, Protestantism weighed in its own Balance and found wanting. No. 7, Purgatory.*

when it is due, as in adults, for actual sin committed. Nor do we deny that He remits it in some cases for the true and perfect contrition we have for our sins. But we say that ordinarily He remits it by means of the penitential and other good works we voluntarily perform, as also by means of the sufferings and calamities which we endure in this mortal life. And we say likewise that temporal punishment is remitted by indulgences, which is the subject of this Tract.

But, retorts the Protestant, Christ satisfied for our sins, and no satisfaction is due on our part. He suffered for our sins, and no suffering, no punishment or chastisement, is wanting from us; and therefore no punishment remains to be remitted. Christ did not save us in part: He made a full, perfect, and sufficient satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. "There is now no condemnation to those that are in Christ Jesus."

The answer is easy. Christ has redeemed us; He has satisfied for us; the merits of His Passion are infinite; the price that He paid in His most precious Blood is sufficient, and more than sufficient, to remit all the sins of all mankind, and all the punishment, eternal and temporal, which is due thereto. But mankind are not thereby *individually* justified and saved. This is allowed on all hands. Something is necessary on our part; the merits of Christ's Passion have to be *applied* to our souls, and the conditions I have mentioned are the means by which this application is made. That baptism remits sin and the punishment of sin; that a true and perfect contrition sometimes exempts the penitent from such temporal chastisement as is ordinarily the consequence of sin; that the slight penances imposed by the priest in confession have a sacramental effect in satisfying for sin; that all penitential and good works, done in a state of grace, also satisfy for sin: this is the effect of the infinite merits of Christ, and the perfect satisfaction which He made for sin once for all upon the cross. And from these infinite merits and this perfect satisfaction come also the whole value and the effect of the indulgences which are given by the Church. To s

therefore, that indulgences are needed by those who are "in Christ Jesus," and who are consequently free from eternal "condemnation," as the Apostle says, is not to deny or to disparage the infinite merits of Christ, but to intimate one out of several means by which those merits are applied for a specific end. Of course, God can apply them under such conditions and to such extent as He pleases; and the Catholic doctrine,—the doctrine which has been ever taught by the Church of God,—is, that the infinite merits of Christ are not so applied in every case as, together with the sin and eternal punishment, to take away all temporal punishment also; but that, to take away the temporal punishment due to sin, works of satisfaction are necessary, and indulgences effectual.

This point having been made clear, I will proceed with the immediate subject in hand. I have said that an indulgence is the remission of the temporal punishment remaining due to sin *after the guilt of sin has been forgiven.* Therefore no one can gain an indulgence who is not in a state of grace; that is to say, who is not free from mortal sin. Nay, more; no one, in gaining an indulgence, can enjoy the benefit of it in respect to any particular sin, however slight it may be, unless the sin itself has been somehow previously forgiven; for an indulgence is not the remission of sin, or of any sin, however small, but of the temporal punishment due thereto.

An indulgence, therefore, properly so called, is not that remission of temporal punishment which is given in baptism, or is gained by performing the satisfaction which is part of the sacrament of penance, or in any other way; but it is a boon which is bestowed by the Church out of the treasury of merits which she possesses by the gift of Christ and by virtue of His precious bloodshedding.

But here, again, I must explain the terms I have used, seeing that they are commonly misunderstood and misrepresented by Protestants.

First, then, as to this treasury of merits possessed by the Church. Every good work we do has a double value: in the first place, it is simply meritorious, that is to say,

we are so much the better personally for having performed it, and our reward is proportionably greater in the world to come. In the second place, it is *satisfactory;* that is to say, it goes towards paying the debt of temporal punishment due for forgiven sins. This double value all good works have through the union which subsists between Christ and the Christian soul.

But now the actions of Christ Himself had this double value also; and most certain it is, that the satisfaction He made all the time He was on earth indefinitely surpassed the punishment due to the sins of all mankind; that satisfaction was, indeed, infinite, for He was no mere man, but God Himself incarnate. One only drop of His most precious Blood—the least of all His actions—was sufficient to redeem ten thousand worlds. And besides the merits of Christ, there are the merits of His Saints; for many Saints have done and suffered more than was necessary to satisfy for the sins of their own most holy lives. "The Blessed Virgin was never stained with sin; St. John the Baptist was sanctified in his mother's womb. The great number of confessors and martyrs, of spotless virgins and mortified anchorites, who have passed their whole lives in prayer and fasting, in weeping and sorrow, in disciplines and macerations of the flesh, have offered to God much more abundant satisfaction than they owed to His divine justice." (Bouvier on Indulgences.)

Now, the infinite and superabundant satisfaction of Christ never has been, and never will be, fully applied; it is ever present before God, and forms an inexhaustible fund through all time for the benefit of the members of His mystical Body. And, again, as nothing is lost which is done for Christ and in Christ, the satisfactions of the Saints are also laid up before God; and all this fund of satisfactions, whether of Christ or of the Saints, we call the treasury of the Church, or the store from which the Church draws in granting indulgences. You will observe, it is not their *merits*, strictly so called, which are superabundant, *and can* be made over to others,—for all the *works of the Saints* have been perfectly rewarded wi

their proportionate degree of glory,—but it is the *satisfactory* value of those works which, being over and above what was required for themselves, is placed at the disposal of the Church for the needs of the faithful. It is not, therefore, that God imputes to one person the good works done by another, and rewards him for the same as if they had been done by himself; but that those good works, besides their meritoriousness, have another and a separate value, by which they satisfy for sin already forgiven; and that value, and that only, can be applied or made over to another. Hence the irrelevance of such an objection as that which is drawn from the parable of the ten virgins, where the five wise ones have not wherewithal to give to the foolish, whose lamps have gone out. These latter represent souls which have lost the grace of God, the oil of charity; and what they need is, not satisfaction to remit the temporal punishment due to their sins, but grace, which is the condition of spiritual life and personal holiness. Christ alone is the source of grace and holiness; from Him alone comes whatever remission is bestowed in the sacraments of the Church, whether it be of sin or of the punishment, temporal or eternal, due to sin: it is only in the matter of indulgences that the satisfactions of the Saints are of effect.

But if, it may be objected, the merits of Christ are infinite, or, in other words, if the satisfactory value of His acts and sufferings is an *infinite* value, what need can there be of the merits or satisfactions of the Saints? To that which is infinite nothing can be added. I answer, nothing can be added, it is true, in the way of direct and intrinsic value; the merits of the Saints cannot add to the value of the merits of Christ, for in themselves they are infinitely beyond all price. But, as the merits of Christ are *applied*, not infinitely, but in measure and proportion, the merits of the Saints, by the sovereign will and dispensation of God, swell the treasury of the Church, and *cause the fund of* satisfactions therein contained to be more *abundantly dispensed*. Their merits have an effect corresponding to the effect of their prayers and intercessions.

As the prayers and intercessions of the Saints obtain for us greater graces and blessings than would otherwise be bestowed upon us by God, so do their merits or satisfactions positively contribute to make up a larger measure of remission of temporal punishment than would otherwise be given. Nor is this any disparagement to the merits of Christ; on the contrary, it enhances them; for the satisfactions of the Saints have no value whatever except through the merits of Christ, through whom alone they are what they are. From Him it is that their works and sufferings derive what satisfying force they have; and consequently all the glory thereof belongs to Him, and is really and actually referred to Him.

If you ask me *how* one soul can make satisfaction for another, I reply simply, that God so wills; that He has united His faithful together, as in one living body, that they may succour each other, and what is wanting to one member may be supplied by another; and that the power to do this flows from the Head, which is Christ. In this consists the "Communion of Saints," which is an article of the Creed. All the good that is done by the members of Christ's Church conduces to the advantage of the whole body; as the labour, riches, and virtues of each individual citizen contribute to the welfare of the state.

But now as to this treasury of merits being possessed by the Church, and placed at her disposal. It is so by the express word and authority of Christ. To St. Peter He said (Matt. xvi. 19), "I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven." The same promise He made to all the apostles together (Matt. xviii. 18). If then, as has been shown, temporal punishment has to be "loosed" or remitted, as well as eternal punishment and the guilt of sin, then in the word "whatsoever" is contained the power and authority to remit or loose it. The words of our Blessed Lord are general, *and specify* no exception. To St. Peter, and to the *Church in communion* with St. Peter, was given the pow

of opening heaven and breaking all the bonds which detain souls from entering therein. But the temporal punishment due to sin is a bond which prevents all entrance into heaven as long as it is unremitted. Therefore to the Church was given the power, as of forgiving sin, so also of remitting the temporal punishment due to sin already forgiven; in other words, of granting indulgences.

And from the very first the Church of God exercised this merciful power. As has been shown in so many numbers of this Series, there are multitudes of texts of holy Scripture for which Protestants have no interpretation, or at any rate, no plain, adequate, intelligible interpretation, as most certainly they have nothing in their own practice corresponding thereto; and so it is in this matter of satisfactions and indulgences. Not only do we read of holy persons like St. Paul, for example, bruising or mortifying their body, but this very apostle speaks of suffering in his own person, in his own "flesh," for the sake of the Church, or body of Christ. His language is most remarkable; it is as if something were still "wanting," and required "filling up," of "the sufferings of Christ," not in themselves, for their value is infinite, but in his own flesh; as if Christ had something yet to suffer in the particular members of His mystical body, or those particular members had a certain share of suffering to endure for the benefit of the body generally. "I now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up those things that are wanting of the sufferings of Christ, in my flesh for His body, which is the Church" (Coloss. i. 24). In these words of holy Scripture is contained that great doctrine ever taught by the Church, that the satisfactions of the Saints are effectual for the wants of the faithful in the sense I have been stating, and that they are laid up in the Church as in a treasure-house, to be applied as need requires, and the Church herself thinks fit.

Nor is this all. St. Paul himself granted an indulgence *in the case of the incest*uous Corinthian. He had put him *to penance, as he says* (1 Cor. v. 5), "for the destruction *of the flesh, that the* spirit may be saved in the day of our

Lord Jesus Christ;" but seeing his great contrition for his sin, the apostle forgave him the penance he had imposed upon him, lest he be "swallowed up with overmuch sorrow" (2 Cor. ii. 7). He authorised the prelates of Corinth to remit the penance, and himself, by his apostolic power, confirmed the act. His words are, "To whom you have pardoned any thing, I also. For what I have pardoned, if I have pardoned any thing, for your sakes have I done it, in the person of Christ" (v. 10). "In the person of Christ," not in his own person and by his own authority, but as the minister of Christ, and by the authority committed to him by Christ,—or, as it is given in the margin of the Protestant Bible, "in the *sight* of Christ,—" St. Paul so pardoned the temporal punishment due to the sin, that it was no longer due in the sight of Christ or of the Church. The words of the apostle prove that the indulgence, or remission of temporal punishment, granted by the Church, does not merely cancel the penance inflicted by the Church, as Protestants pretend, but that it takes effect in the sight of God Himself. He says, he pardoned in the sight or in the person of Christ; to Christ therefore, not to the Church only, was the debt due, and in His regard also it was pardoned or remitted. The Church would exact no more penance; and what is more, God would not punish for the sin, either in this world or in the world to come, that is to say, in Purgatory. St. Paul's indulgence restored the Corinthian to the very same state before God in which he would have been if he had in his own person undergone the whole penance inflicted on him.

This follows also from the nature of the case. For if, as has been shown, temporal punishment is ordinarily due, and must be endured for every sin that has been committed, then, unless St. Paul's indulgence remitted that temporal punishment, and not merely the ecclesiastical penance, the Corinthian, though pardoned as regarded the latter, would still have to suffer the former; and the apostle, so far from showing him mercy, would rather have inflicted an injury *upon him*, as by removing the penance, he would *thereby have taken* from him the means of satisfying

his sin in this life, and have left him to suffer the far bitterer pains of Purgatory in the next, which pains he might have lessened, or altogether forestalled, by performing the penance imposed.

But to return to the practice of the ancient Church. In the cruel persecutions which the first Christians endured at the hands of pagan emperors, many were driven, through fear and torments, to deny the faith, and offer sacrifice to idols. When any of these unhappy men repented of their sin, and begged for re-admission into the communion of the faithful, it was only after long and severe probation that this boon was conceded to them. For years they were subjected to public penance: they were not allowed to worship with the general congregation, but were kept by themselves apart; and, what was a far worse privation than all, excluded from the sacraments. In their sorrow and distress they had recourse to those nobler spirits who were suffering imprisonment for Christ's sake, and begged their intercession with the bishops of the Church for the remission or relaxation of their punishment. This, after due trial had of their sincerity and constancy, was granted. The bishops took the sufferings of the imprisoned martyrs in payment of the debt due from their fallen brethren, and remitted or relaxed the penance that had been imposed.

This was, in fact, an indulgence. For that the remission was not confined to the mere canonical penance, but was considered as compensating for the temporal punishment due for sin, is plain, as well for the reason I have adduced in the case of the incestuous Corinthian, as from the fact, that a contemporary author, Tertullian, when he fell into heresy, turned this very doctrine and practice of the Church into an accusation against her, as if to apply the satisfactions of the martyrs in the way of indulgence were to make them sharers with Christ in expiating for sin. The ancient Fathers also expressly imply that the martyrs are able to assist their brethren in the faith by *satisfying the justice of* God for them, and give rules for *the application of* indulgences.

But the reason why I have alluded to this ancient me-

thod of obtaining indulgences is, that it explains the language in which the Church of later times has granted indulgences, and the general phraseology which is in use on the subject. Indulgences are granted by the Church for so many days, weeks, or years; and the reason of this is, that in ancient times open sins were punished by so many days, weeks, or years of public penance. For instance, a man who had cursed his parents would have been penanced to fast for forty days on bread and water. If he had struck them, his penance would have been extended to seven years; and other and more grievous sins had yet severer punishments allotted to them. For one scandalous sin of impurity, a penance of a whole life would have been inflicted. This discipline in later times was for wise reasons relaxed; these long and severe penances were no longer exacted; but as God's temporal chastisement for sin remained unaltered, indulgences were granted for periods corresponding with those of the ancient canonical penances, as for three, seven, ten, fifteen, or even twenty years. This relaxation of discipline, it may be remarked by the way, involved no change of principle. The Church modifies her external rules according to the circumstances of the times and the needs of her children; and if the *justice* of God were more clearly set forth in her severer punishments of sin, His *mercy* is more aptly displayed in her more lenient dispensations.

However, besides these indulgences, there are others for periods exceeding the ordinary age of man, as for 150, 300, and even a greater number of years; and the reason of this is as follows. If a single sin would have doomed a man to a continual penance of seven or twenty years, and even of his whole life, however extended that life might be; and if this represented the debt due to God for his sin, what must be the temporal punishment due from one who has committed repeated and aggravated acts of sin, and even passed his whole life in the habitual practice of iniquity! If such a man repents when he has grown old, or is lying *on his* death-bed, is it possible to estimate the *amount of satisfaction* which he owes to the justice of God

Who, indeed, can estimate the malice of a single sin—a sin of word, or of thought, to say nothing of overt acts, and the punishment which before God is due for that sin? What then shall we say of habitual transgressions, in which every item is a mortal sin? Dealing with the matter as one of proportion, a thousand years of canonical penance would not be sufficient satisfaction for such a soul. But it is impossible to say how much temporal punishment is due for any single sin, or what proportion any canonical penance bears to the debt which is owed to the divine justice; nor does the Church pretend to decide. She does not pretend to calculate for how much sin how much punishment is due, nor what proportion her penances bear to the pains of purgatory; she simply dispenses indulgences, after the ancient fashion, for different periods of time, and encourages the faithful to endeavour to obtain them. She would have them try again and again, and not to doubt but that *whatever* be the amount of punishment that is due, it will be remitted by means of indulgences on performing the conditions required.

Protestants, however, object, that these conditions are so very slight and so easy of performance, that indulgences operate rather as an encouragement than as a hindrance to sin. A man, they say, may get an indulgence, and so be freed from all punishment for all the sins of his life, only by going through some devotional forms hardly worth the mentioning.

Now the first thing that naturally occurs to me to say, in answer to such an objection is, that it is the last that ought to proceed from the mouth of a Protestant. For however they may talk when they are off their guard, as in fact they commonly do, of God punishing people for their sins even after, as they suppose, He has forgiven them, they do not believe that any satisfaction or punishment is due for sin; and send every soul straight to heaven, which they think to be saved at all, without passing through the *purgatorial fire*; thus granting a plenary indulgence to the *world at large*, free from all conditions whatsoever. If, *therefore*, the conditions for gaining an indulgence were

really as easy as they allege, that ought to be no objection to Protestants, who believe that no temporal punishment is due to sin, and no satisfaction or indulgences required.

But are the conditions so very easy? Of course, as being an act of God's grace or favour, an indulgence is not, and ought not to be, incumbered with any hard terms; and here we certainly ought to have Protestants on our side, if there is any meaning in what they are for ever saying of the freedom of the Gospel. Indulgences are an act of God's tender love, and are intended to excite our love for Him in return. What God wants of us is, not this or that hard work, or this or that suffering, but our hearts; and this He would accomplish, as in other ways, so by the free dispensing of His mercies in the full remission of the temporal punishment which our sins have merited.

But now what are the conditions which the Church requires for gaining an indulgence? The first condition, as has been said, is, that the person be in a state of grace, that is, free from mortal sin. Add to which, as was before remarked, that no venial sin, however slight it be, can have its temporal punishment remitted, so long as the sin itself remains unrepented of and unforgiven. Also the works to be performed must be done religiously, and with proper dispositions, the merely outward act being often a very small part of the requirement; and those dispositions must be perfectly exercised, or the indulgence is not perfectly obtained. Moreover, to gain a plenary indulgence, or total remission of all the temporal punishment due to all our sins, the usual requirement is, that we make a good confession (no slight task) and receive communion worthily and with devotion. Particular prayers again are necessary, and these said, not with the lips only, but from the heart; to which also fasting and alms-deeds are sometimes added. So that in urging her children to gain indulgences, the Church does, in fact, urge them to purify their hearts, practise supernatural virtues, and lead a good and holy life.

This I *may call* the general intention of the Church, *over and above the* act of mercy itself, in granting indul

gences. But she has also a more particular object in view, the gaining of which is to her an equivalent for the boon that is dispensed; and that is, the large accession of intercessory prayer resulting from the practice. To gain a plenary indulgence, it is commonly required that we should pray for the Sovereign Pontiff, the advancement of the Catholic Church, the extirpation of heresy, and unity and concord among Christian princes. The faithful are also encouraged by the same means to the practice of other particular devotions, many of which are connected with associations for purposes of piety and the performance of good works. Who, then, that believes in the efficacy of prayer, can question the immense amount of blessings that are being continually poured down upon the Church, and through the Church upon the world, by means of indulgences, and the increase of glory that daily and hourly accrues to God Himself thereby?

But besides indulgences which the living can gain for themselves, there are also indulgences which the living can apply to the dead. Purgatory is a temporary state, and the holy souls suffering therein can be helped by the prayers, alms-deeds, and other good works of the living, and particularly by Masses offered on their behalf; and they can be helped also by means of indulgences. But here a difference is to be observed. The souls in Purgatory are not, like the living, under the jurisdiction of the Church; therefore they cannot be freed from the punishment due to their sins by any authoritative spiritual act of Pope or bishops. Consequently the Church does not dispense indulgences for the dead *absolutely*, or so that they certainly take effect, as she does for the living, but only *by way of suffrage*, as it is called. In other words, the pious Catholic can but perform the conditions necessary for gaining the indulgence,—*offer* them to God, and *beg* Him to regard in His mercy the soul for which he performs the works required; he cannot make the indulgence over to *that soul*, as if it were his own to bestow as he pleases.

Hence no one can be *sure* that the soul to which he *applies an indulgence* is really benefited by it, much less

delivered from its pains, even though he may be morally certain he has adequately performed the conditions prescribed. From this you may perceive the absurdity of an objection urged by Protestants, which nevertheless they deem quite conclusive on the subject, that if the doctrine of indulgences be a true and consistent doctrine, the Pope could empty Purgatory any day he chose. The doctrine of the Church is not that which, in their foolish ignorance, such objectors imagine. Neither Church nor Pope pretend to have absolute power over the realms of Purgatory. They claim but to have the power which God has given, and that power is to grant indulgences which can be applied to the souls in Purgatory, not absolutely, but by way of suffrage only. Indulgences applied to the dead have not an infallible effect, in this or that particular case; for God has not bound Himself to accept them: their effect is dependent on His sovereign will and pleasure.

Neither, as has been suggested, by the terms in which she grants indulgences applicable to the dead, does the Church sanction any measuring of the pains of Purgatory by the penances imposed by the ancient Church. In granting, for instance, an indulgence of forty days or twenty years applicable to the souls in Purgatory, the Church does not mean, that if God accepts the offering made for some particular soul, that soul would have its pains abridged for just so many days or years in matter of time. What the exact value of such an indulgence may be to a soul in Purgatory, the Church does not pretend to know; such knowledge is no part of the revealed truth which she has been commissioned to teach mankind. All that she teaches is, that every partial indulgence gained through us by the souls departed, shortens the time (according to some proportion known only to God) and diminishes the pains which keep them from the enjoyment of the beatific vision, the possession of God, the only good; and that a plenary indulgence, if gained, admits them instantly to that ineffable and eternal joy. This it is for which those holy souls are ever panting; and this *is why it is* an act so charitable in itself, and so *pleasing to God*, to give them our indulgences, instead of *retaining them for* ourselves.

Here I may notice an objection very commonly brought against the Church, which is, that if masses and indulgences are so profitable to the dead, their release from their sufferings depends on the piety of their surviving friends and relatives. But this might equally be alleged against prayers for the living, the efficacy of which no Protestant denies. Sinners who have pious friends enjoy an advantage apparently denied to those who have none. Other replies, however, might be given; as, for instance, that good Catholics are in the habit of applying indulgences to the souls most destitute of suffrages, in which way even the most friendless would find those to help them in their needs; but it is enough to repeat what has been said, that special masses and indulgences are not *indispensable* conditions of releasing souls from Purgatory. God has other means of remitting their pains, and that through the instrumentality of the Church; as, for example, the masses that are said with a general intention for the souls of the departed, and the intercessions of the Blessed Virgin and all Saints.

With one simple reply to a not uncommon objection, I will conclude. If God, it is said, remits temporal punishment by the easy way of indulgences, why does He not remit it without? I answer: Because such is not His will. Such is not His economy of salvation. He might, if He chose, succour our needs without waiting to be asked, for He knows our thoughts long before; but it is His will to be prayed to; and so also it is His will to remit the temporal punishment due to forgiven sin by means of indulgences, as also by such other ways as have before been mentioned.

To sum up in a few words what has been said. 1. An indulgence is the remission, not of sin, but of the temporal punishment which remains due to sin after its guilt has been forgiven. 2. By indulgences, individual souls get the benefit of the satisfactions of Christ and the Saints. The satisfactions of the Saints are the fruits of Christ's Passion, and of that union which the members of His body have with Himself, their Head. The satisfactions of Christ are infi-

nite; but the satisfactions of the Saints, though finite, and bearing no proportion to the satisfactions of Christ, nevertheless are not suffered to be lost, or to remain of no avail. They are added to the treasury of the Church; and as they exhibit and enhance the merits of Christ, so also, by His decree, they are of real benefit to the other members of His body, when dispensed, together with His own, in the form of indulgence; they help, not to redeem from sin or from hell, but to pay off the debt of temporal punishment which remains due. 3. An indulgence can be gained only by those who are in the grace of God; and even these cannot gain an indulgence for any sin, however slight, of which they have not repented. Moreover, to gain an indulgence, sincere contrition, real devotion, are necessary; and no one —not the Pope himself—can gain an indulgence but on these conditions. 4. Indulgences do not exempt us from the obligation of doing penance, any more than they exempt us from the sufferings and calamities of this mortal life. We can never be sure that we have gained an indulgence; we know also that, even if we have gained a plenary one, such is the weakness and sinfulness of our nature, that we begin sinning—at least venially—perhaps the very next moment; so that we have to be ever mortifying ourselves and doing penance, ever labouring to work out our salvation in fear and trembling. 5. Finally, indulgences are a most effectual way of securing a vast amount of good and pious works, prayers, and alms-deeds, and thus indefinitely promoting the honour and glory of God. In which way also they largely increase the merits of those who labour to gain them with a right intention, and that intention is, to be the sooner with God, and more speedily to enjoy the sight of Him in glory.

Those who would wish to study the practical application of this doctrine in detail, should consult Bouvier's Treatise on Indulgences, *edited by the Very Rev. Canon Oakeley, of which* large use has been *made in the foregoing Tract.*

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Jonathan Browne.

[The following narrative is taken from the *Life and Times* of Dr. Calamy, a Dissenting teacher of the Independent denomination, who lived in the reigns of Charles II., James II., and William III.]

It was my usual custom on the Lord's day before every sacrament, to give notice of my intention to administer that ordinance the Lord's day following; also to invite such as were desirous to discourse with me about coming to that ordinance, to be at my own house on the Thursday evening before.

At a certain time (the year I cannot remember), having been out at noon on that Thursday when, according to custom, I expected company in the evening, I came home about four o'clock, and found several waiting for me. Among the rest there was a little old man, who, upon my entering the room, cried out with an audible voice, "Sir, here's Jonathan Browne, that can neither write nor read, that, according to your invitation on Sunday last, is come to see you, and hear what you have to say to him."

I looked about, and knew none of the others any more than I did him, and found he was the oldest person in the company, and thereupon told him that I no more invited him than others; but now he was come, if I could be of any use to him, I should rejoice. "Nay, but, master," he said, "how can you say you did not invite me? for when you spake you looked me full in the face, which to me seemed all one as if you had said, 'Jonathan Browne, do you come.'" I told him that I did not know that there was any such person as Jonathan Browne, nor did I look at him, or invite him any more than others; but if I could *do him* any service, in the best respects, it would b

a real pleasure, and I should be thankful to God and His providence for giving me this opportunity.

He told me he was in hope that I could and would do him the greatest service in the world, by directing and assisting him to steer right in his way to heaven, the thing he most earnestly desired. "O sir," says he, "I am well known; and there are few, if any, that do know me, but what, if inquired of, will tell you that Jonathan Browne is as honest a man as any in the parish. But I find this won't do: I want something further; and I beg your advice. And that you may the better know how to suit your advice to my case, I have such a story to tell you of myself, as I dare say you never heard since you were born of your mother. But then, sir," said he, "I must make this bargain with you, that you don't interrupt me, but let me go on my own way till I come to the end; for if you put me out, I shan't know how to go on where I left off, but must begin again."

I could not but take notice of the honest simplicity of the poor man, and the earnestness of his spirit, and observed several signs of a great concern; and therefore determined I would let him take his own way, and endeavour to make such remarks on what he said, as might be a foundation whereon to bottom some advice, that, with the blessing of God, might do him good. The rest of the company in the room, waiting for me as well as he, observing his peculiar bluntness, could not forbear smiling. I therefore carried him into another room, and there told him he might tell me his whole story, and I would not interrupt him. But I desired he would not dilate upon all the particulars of it, but give me the substance in the narrowest compass he could. After which I told him I would ask him a few questions, and then give him the best advice I was able. In this he acquiesced.

He had no notion either of his father or mother, but was put out to nurse, by he knew not whom, while very *young. His nurse* was kind to him, and put him, when *six or seven years* of age, to a barge-master that plied be*tween Ware and* London. While a child, he was employed

in such little services as he was capable of; and as he grew up, approving himself diligent and faithful, he was commended and trusted, and wanted not either for meat, drink, or clothes. With this barge-master he continued until twenty-five years of age.

He told me that from his childhood he was just to every body, and wronged no one; hated lying, and spoke what was true, according to the best of his knowledge; and found something within him often telling him, that such ill things as he heard and saw from day to day were to be avoided. His master had a kindness for him, and much favoured him; though his fellow-servants and others seemed to bear an ill-will to him, because he would not speak and act as they did.

But, after all, he was uneasy; and thought he wanted something further, though through the ignorance in which he had been trained up, he could not well tell what that should be. He added, that in all this time he had not any notion of worship due to the great God, nor had been present at, or so much as heard of, any thing of that kind; nor so much as heard who or what Christ was, or observed the name of God mentioned by any that were about him but in oaths and curses.

He had no knowledge of any difference between one day and another, or indeed between good and evil of any sort, but what he had from some inward stirrings in his own breast, which he could not account for. Upon mentioning this, I observed the tears run down his cheeks. He said that, upon the whole, he grew so uneasy, that he could not be satisfied to continue with his master any longer, but resolved to run away, and shift for himself in the wide world. And whom should he go to but his old nurse, who was yet living?

She blamed him for leaving his master, when he had no friend to betake himself to for support, and would have persuaded him to return; but he told her he could not live such a life any longer, and whatever became of him, he was fully resolved no more to return to it. The great question then was, what he must do for a subsistence: a

to which it was requisite he should be thoughtful, seeing the little money he had of his own would soon be gone. She at length advised him to go to London, and apply himself to a cousin that was a pipe-maker, who lived (I think) in Wapping; upon which at length he determined.

Applying to this cousin, and telling him his case, he received him kindly, and told him he would assist him as far as he was able. One Lord's day morning, while he was there, he was walking about the streets to make his remarks, without knowing where to go, or having any thing to do. He had wandered as far as Temple Bar; and walking without the gate, he observed a number of people go in at a certain place, and them he followed, reckoning they were going to see some sight. When he came in, he saw a great many people in seats, and one in black, mounted high above all the rest, at which he was surprised. He heard the man in black talking with great earnestness to the people present, and telling them they had souls as well as bodies, and there was another life after this; and all such as did not take care to serve and please God in this life, would be miserable in the other, and that for ever.

He told them also of one Jesus Christ (of whom he had never heard any thing distinctly before), who was so exceeding kind as to come from heaven to earth to show us the way from earth to heaven; and that it was only by His means that any could get the favour of God, so as to be happy in that other life. The poor man was so affected with these things, that before he stirred he took up a fixed resolution, that for the time to come he would never live any where but where he might hear of this Jesus Christ, that so he might become acquainted with Him, in order to his being made happy, and having his soul saved by His means.

Going home, he gave his cousin an account, with a *great* deal of joy, of what he had heard of Jesus Christ, *and the resolution* he had taken. He found his cousin *had been acquainted* with Him long before, and that what

he mentioned was no news at all to him. He therefore blamed his cousin that he had never said any thing to him of Christ. He told him the only reason was, that he thought he had heard of Him before as well as himself; and he told him now that he might hear of Him every Sunday, at which he was exceedingly pleased, hoping he might get to be acquainted with Him in time.

At length the barge-master, concerned at the loss of his servant, after making inquiry after him, found him out at his cousin's the pipe-maker, and asked him what made him run away from him. Jonathan told him he had reason enough for it, as he would soon let him know.

"But, master," said Jonathan, "can you charge me with doing you any wrong?"

"No," says the master, "thou never wronged'st me, Jonathan, as I ever knew, of the worth of a farthing, but hast been the most honest and faithful servant that I ever had."

"I am glad to hear that," said Jonathan; "though you must have greatly injured me to have said I wronged you, for I am sure I brought away nothing but what was my own."

"Well, Jonathan," said the master, "thou must come and live with me again, for I cannot do without thee."

"Have a care of that, master," said Jonathan; "I can assure you I shan't be easily brought to that."

"Why, Jonathan," said the master, "if thou wantest more wage" (I herein use the very home-spun language of Jonathan himself, as he was discoursing with me), "I'll freely give thee more wage; I'll give thee what shall satisfy and content thee."

"No, master," said Jonathan, "no wage will tempt me."

"Well, Jonathan," said the master, "what dost think my barge may be worth?"

"I can't well tell, master," said Jonathan; "I don't know; but take her, hulk and tackle all together, she may be worth eighty pounds."

"*Well,*" said the master, "if thou'lt come and liv

with me, and be as faithful a servant to me as before, a quarter-part of her shall be thine own."

"No, master," said Jonathan, "no offer you can make will tempt me any more to be your servant."

The master was very desirous to know the reason, upon which Jonathan told him, that though he could not say that he wanted for any thing necessary as to body while he was in his service, yet that his soul, which was his better part, had been wholly neglected. He had bred him up like a mere brute, without knowing any thing of Jesus Christ, by whom alone he now understood he could be saved and made happy; and he had taken up a fixed resolution to live nowhere, for the time to come, but where he might have an opportunity of getting acquainted with Jesus Christ, whom he declared he esteemed as his best friend.

The master endeavoured to divert Jonathan from such thoughts as these, which he did not at all relish, but could not move him. Finding him fully resolved, and having no way to oblige him to comply with his motion, he left him to take his own way.

When this shock was over, Jonathan being sensible it was not fit he should live upon his cousin, without doing something to get his bread, offered to serve him as apprentice seven years, in order to learn his trade. He accepted of him, and Jonathan served him faithfully; and according to his resolution, attended Divine worship every Lord's day, in order to hear more of Jesus Christ. When his time was expired, not liking that business, he turned his thoughts to the water, upon which he had been bred up, and first laboured in lighters and barges as a servant to others.

Living thriftily, and saving all he could, and Providence favouring him, he at length, in process of time, got first a smaller vessel of his own, and then a larger, till he came and settled at Westminster, where he had an established *reputation* as an honest man, and was worth money. From *that time, he* was a constant hearer of my predecessor, *Mr. Alsop, as he* was also of me upon my succeeding him,

though I had never heard any thing of him till the time of his thus coming to me.

He was then turned of sixty. I began with asking him whether he had reason to believe he was ever baptised? He answered, he was well assured of that by his old nurse, who told him she was at his christening. I asked him if he knew what his baptism bound and obliged him to? He answered that he did not doubt but it obliged him to have lived better than he had done; but that he hoped a merciful God would forgive him all that was amiss. Going to enter upon particulars about man's fall from God, his recovery by grace, the terms of forgiveness, and the nature of regeneration and sanctification, I found he was very much to seek. He told me he was not book-learned; and could neither write nor read, which he much lamented; but hoped God would make him a merciful allowance in consideration of his unhappy education.

I asked him how it came about that, when he for so many years before had been so pleased with hearing of Jesus Christ, he should have taken no pains to get a distinct knowledge of Him in all this time? He told me that he had attended upon God on Lord's days duly in public worship, and called upon Him in private as he was able, and endeavoured to learn to read, on purpose that he might be able to consult his Bible, and distinctly learn the way to heaven; but he found himself incapable. He added, that he had been forced to take abundance of pains to pick up a livelihood, and God had therein wonderfully succeeded and blessed him, and he was ashamed he had not made better returns; but this he could say, that he most earnestly desired to be the Lord's, and there was nothing that he valued like His favour.

When I asked him why he did not apply to some minister in private for direction and advice, he told me he never had opportunity of acquaintance with any minister, though he had heard a great many preach and pray, which he had hoped he was the better for. He added, that he was afraid of conversing with ministers alone, for fear they *should despise* him when they observed his ignorance, or *discourage him* instead of giving him assistance.

I asked him further whether he never thought it his duty to remember Christ and His dying love at His table, which was a charge He had given all His followers that hoped to reach heaven and happiness by His means? He told me he had often been thinking of it (and more than ever before, upon his hearing me discourse often freely in the pulpit upon that duty); but that he knew not how to imagine that such a poor, ignorant, despicable creature as he was, could ever be worthy of such an honour.

I blamed him, that though he had been an hearer of my predecessor Mr. Alsop for a great many years, he yet never would venture to go and talk with him alone; and asked him how it came about that he should after all come to me with so much frankness. He told me that he had been often thinking of visiting Mr. Alsop, but that fear kept him back; and he had been discouraged by the sternness of his look. As for me also, he sometimes thought that I overlooked him, when he was disposed to take notice of me with pleasure and great respect. But, he said, that on the Lord's day before he came to me, when I invited persons to my house out of the pulpit, he thought I looked very pleasantly upon him, as if desirous he should come; and thereupon he took up a resolution that nothing should prevent his coming.

Asking him what he now desired of me and expected from me, he told me that, like a faithful minister of Christ, I should direct him how to bottom his hopes rightly for heaven, that he might go upon such grounds as not to be in danger of miscarrying. Asking him further, whether he would be willing to take pains to get what knowledge was necessary, and was disposed to receive and listen to instruction, he burst into tears, and told me he was ready and willing with all his soul, and should be extremely thankful both to God and me: which put me presently in mind of the man in the Gospel, that cried to our Saviour, "I believe; Lord, help mine unbelief" (Mark ix. 24).

I could not help being much affected with this poor *man's case,* and told him that I was very willing to take *pains with him, to* help him by degrees to such knowledge *as was necessary,* without which the heart could not be

ood nor his state safe. He told me I should find him very dull scholar, and that he knew not how to express imself, nor indeed to take things in, like others that ad better capacities; but he would pray to God to help im, and earnestly desired me to pray for him. I gave im a short explication of the principles of religion, and ut him upon getting one to read it over to him again and gain; and told him that if he would come to me at such imes as I mentioned, I would discourse things over paricularly with him. As for expressing himself to me about he things of religion, he might take his own plain way, rithout cramping himself with words and phrases; and in ay discoursing with him, I would endeavour to turn things everal ways, that so he might take them in one way, if he lid not in another. He went away much pleased and very hankful; saying again and again he hoped God would eward me.

As I had opportunity afterwards, I inquired this poor nan's character of some that lived in his neighbourhood, thers that he dealt with in the way of business, and others hat were acquainted with him. All gave him the chaacter of a sincere, honest man, ready to help any one he knew that wanted help, as far as he was able, and that would not wrong a worm, which was the very expression that I remember many made use of concerning him.

He afterwards visited me frequently; and I discoursed him with great freedom about the main principles of religion, endeavouring to help him to right notions of the happiness of man while innocent, the sinfulness and misery of the state into which he fell, the great work of redemption, the nature of the covenant, the evil of sin, and the excellency of holiness; the duties and blessings of vital Christianity, the evidence that supernatural revelation was attended with, and the purifying nature of Christian hopes. Afterwards, I endeavoured to give him an insight into the nature of the two sacraments, that I might help him to improve his baptism, and assist him in preparing for the Lord's supper. This was a work of time and pains.

Poor Jonathan used abundance of application, and a

peared very warmly concerned to get what knowledge was necessary upon those heads on which I discoursed with him. But he found it attended with abundance of difficulty. However, at length he arrived at such a degree of knowledge, and what he did attain to was attended with such marks and evidences of sincerity, that I durst not deny admitting him to the Lord's table, notwithstanding that I found he could as well carry a mountain upon his shoulders, as learn to read at his age.

He was afterwards exceedingly pleased and satisfied, and often declared that he knew not how to express his thankfulness to God, in the first place, for His great mercy to him; and to me, in the next place, for the pains I had taken with him. His heart seemed wholly set on doing good.

In one of his visits he brought a bag of money, and told me he was very sensible he had but a little time before him to do good in; and desired me to take what I thought good out of the bag, and distribute to such objects of charity as I was acquainted with, the relieving whom might be for the glory of God; and signified to me that I could not in any way give him a truer satisfaction and pleasure, than by directing him to any thing by which he might glorify that God to whom he was infinitely indebted.

His discourse in the whole of his conversation was very serious, and all his behaviour exemplary. No one frequented divine worship with more constancy, or a greater appearance of seriousness; and the Lord's day was no sooner over than he longed for the next. The whole of his behaviour was indeed very exemplary, and it continued so for the remainder of his life.

Missing him one Lord's day, my heart misgave me that he was not well, and I determined to make inquiry after him; but was prevented by a message, early the next morning, that Jonathan Browne was very ill, and if I desired to see him alive, it was requisite I should be with him some time that day. I went in the morning, and found him in *a very bad condition.* He had the distemper called the *miserere; and though* he had good advice, yet nothing *afforded him any relief.*

There was a mixed company in the room talking and chatting with great freedom. Stepping to the bed-side, I said, "Honest Jonathan, how is it with thee?" "Ah, sir," said he, "Jonathan is a-going."

"Going," said I; "whither art thou going?" "To my God, sir," said he, "I hope." "I hope so too," said I; "but then," I added, "I prithee let me know in a narrow compass, and in thy own way, the ground of this thy hope." "Why, sir," said he, "you know, as I have often told you, that I can neither write nor read; I wish I could: but I have heard from several ministers, whose faithfulness I have no reason to call in question, and from you in particular, who I am satisfied durst not impose on me, that if I gave myself heartily to the Lord Jesus Christ, God would be merciful even to such a poor miserable sinner as I am, and own me for His; and that this was the sum of the whole Gospel. Now, sir," says he, "if I ever did any thing heartily all the days of my life, I gave myself, my whole self, to Christ at His table; and therefore I hope that God, for His sake, will be gracious to me, pardon my sins, and take me to Himself in heaven, whenever He calls me hence." I endeavoured to strengthen, comfort, and encourage him; and afterwards recommended him to God in prayer. He died that evening, not only peaceably but triumphantly. To God be the praise!

I have told the substance of this passage at different times to several persons, who have been not a little pleased with it, and made it their request to me to leave some account of it behind me, that it might not be lost, but remain for the edification of others; which motion I have promised to comply with, and that promise I this way discharge, solemnly assuring any whom it may concern, that I have not at all exaggerated, but that the whole of this account is strictly true.

This is a very touching little history, and bears internal marks of being, as the writer solemnly assures us, strictly *true*. *It records* one of those (it is to be feared) extremely

rare instances in which a very ignorant but singularly guileless soul has, by the wonderful grace of God, been preserved unspotted from the contaminations of the world, and been led by His most merciful providence to acquire just so much knowledge of the Christian faith as is absolutely necessary for salvation.

Now it has struck me that a lesson might be drawn from this history on a point of Catholic doctrine which is very little understood, or systematically ignored, by Protestants. If Jonathan Browne was saved, and saved we cannot doubt he was, if the account given of him be circumstantially correct, such a result is in entire accordance with Catholic principles: it in nowise contradicts the infallible dictum that "out of the Church there is no salvation." Protestant readers will no doubt be surprised at this assertion, because they are lamentably ignorant of the very first principles of the Catholic religion; but it is nevertheless perfectly true. Catholic theologians teach that *invincible ignorance* exculpates a man from the sin of schism; in other words, of remaining outside the pale of the visible Church; and what invincible ignorance is, the narrative here given will serve to explain. I will go over it in detail, and consider it point by point.

1. In the first place, it appears that the poor man had been baptised, and so far therefore was a Catholic, for every baptised person, as such, is a Catholic. His dissenting teacher, of course, had no other belief about baptism than that it had laid certain obligations upon him; but nevertheless, if Jonathan had really been baptised as an infant, he had not only incurred the obligations of a Christian, but had received grace to fulfil them, and to lead a Christian life.

I say, *if* he had really been baptised, because, Protestants being very careless in the administration of the sacrament, he may not have been baptised, though his nurse supposed he was. But if he had received baptism rightly, this was an immense advantage to him: he had been placed in a *state of grace, and* was enabled to keep God's law; in short, *to live an innocent* and a good life; so that all that he

says of himself, and all that his friends and neighbours said of him, might have been literally true.

2. Still trusting to the account given of him, we see that he never fell into mortal sin; that is to say, he never, to his knowledge, committed any of those sins so common in the world, which deprive the soul of the grace of God. "From his childhood he was just to every body, and wronged no one; hated lying, and spoke what was true according to the best of his knowledge; and found something within him often telling him that such ill things as he heard and saw from day to day were to be avoided. His fellow-servants and others seemed to bear an ill-will to him because he would not speak and act as they did." Thus, whatever lesser faults he was guilty of, he never violated his conscience by any of the grosser forms of sin, but lived up to the light which was in him, which was, in fact, the light of God's Holy Spirit.

3. He was in a state of total ignorance about religion, such as is comparatively of rare occurrence. I say comparatively, because, though there is but too much reason to believe that many in this country at this day are quite as ignorant, yet it must be allowed that the great bulk of the population are much better informed. His own account of himself is, that, even after he had grown up, "he had not any notion of worship due to the great God, nor had been present at, or so much as heard of, any thing of that kind; nor so much as heard who or what Christ was, or observed the name of God mentioned by any that were about him but in oaths and curses."

4. He obeyed the "inward stirrings" of grace, or followed the secret calls and inspirations with which God favoured him. "He was uneasy:" he felt that if he had not actually consented to the sins he saw about him, he was living in the *occasion* of sin, and in the very heat of temptation. "He grew so uneasy that he could not be satisfied to remain" where he was, or "live such a life any longer;" and he resolved at all costs to leave it. This resolution he carried into effect, though it was much against his *worldly interests*, for "his master had a kindness fo

him and much favoured him." Like Abraham, he went out, not knowing whither he went, into "the wide world," to shift for himself as best he could, with the little money he possessed, all through his hatred of sin and the dread he had of sinning.

5. He did not resist, but at once embraced, with all his heart, the truth of God so far as it became known to him. No sooner did he hear distinctly of Jesus Christ, and of His having come from heaven to save our souls, than he was so "affected with these things," that before he stirred from the place where he was, he took up a fixed resolution to live nowhere for the future but where he might hear of Jesus, and know Him better, so as to save his soul. To know Jesus and to save his soul became from this moment the first object of his life. He told his teacher that "he most earnestly desired to be the Lord's; and there was nothing that he valued like His favour."

6. He persevered in this resolution in spite of all the bribes the world held out. He was a poor ignorant man, but he kept fast to the knowledge he had gained: "his master endeavoured to divert him from such thoughts; but could not move him." He offered Jonathan a quarter of his barge; but he was not to be tempted. For seven long years he was faithful to the resolution he had formed, and wrought at a trade for which he had no liking, that he might "attend divine worship every Lord's-day to hear more of Jesus Christ." He got on in the world; but prosperity had no more effect in turning him from his purpose than poverty had had. He lived thriftily, and saved, and was worth money; but even money, apparently, did not harden his heart, or make him forget God and his Saviour. He brought a bag of it to his teacher, and desired him to take out of it as much as he chose for relieving the poor "to the glory of God." "His heart," says the writer, "seemed wholly set on doing good." He did the best he could for his soul; he made good use of the few advantages *he possessed*; he was "faithful over a few things" (Matt. xxv. 21); *he lived up* to what he knew. He was turned of *sixty when the* writer of his little history first became

acquainted with him; for thirty-five years, therefore, he had held firm to his first resolution, for he was twenty-five years of age when he left his first master. All this time (still taking his own account of himself), though he had to work hard, and was forced to take abundant pains to pick up a livelihood, he "attended upon God daily in public worship, and called upon Him in private as he was able."

7. He was not therefore a hearer only; he was a man of prayer. He both prayed and begged others to pray for him. He had given himself up to God, and had never cooled from his first love. He was of a humble spirit, and thought little of himself. On hearing the people invited by the preacher to what Protestants call "the Lord's table," "he knew not how to imagine that such a poor, ignorant, despicable creature as he was could ever be worthy of such an honour;" and he earnestly desired to be instructed in the right way, expressing himself "ready and willing, with all his soul, to get what knowledge was necessary."

8. And this necessary knowledge (as I said at the outset) he did get, though from the mouth of one who had no authority to teach. Of this want of authority, however, Jonathan was ignorant, and therefore he was not wilfully guilty of heresy or schism. No doubt the teaching he got was very defective, yet may we certainly hope that he really learnt as much as is necessary to be believed for the saving of the soul. All that he was *positively* taught was true so far as it went: his teacher could not teach him what he did not know himself, and would err, it may be supposed, rather in what he omitted than in what he asserted. Any how, nothing of positive error appears on the face of the narrative, and this is all with which I am concerned. Jonathan was taught and held all those truths which theologians say are necessary to be believed by every soul, however ignorant and dull of understanding, in order to be saved. It does not appear that he was taught the *contrary* of any Catholic truth. He applied himself to learn with all diligence, and gave unmistakable evidence of a submissive and teachable spirit. He was in the way to believe, and, *with his* simplicity and humility of mind, we may say

that he certainly would have accepted, *all* the truths which God has revealed, in short, the whole creed of the Catholic Church, had it been put before him. Jonathan Browne was no heretic, in the formal sense of the word: he never rejected any known truth.

And here I may observe, by the way, that Jonathan was not converted by the Bible, nor taught by the Bible, nor, to the day of his death, could so much as read the Bible; which, nevertheless, Protestants say is the only word of God, and the only teacher of saving truth. Jonathan was not a Bible-Christian. He was taught, not by the Bible, but by word of mouth—the mouth of a man. He was taught, and, as I really believe, saved his soul, on principles directly opposed to those which Protestants profess;—profess, I say, but do not act upon, and cannot act upon, because they are simply and utterly impracticable and absurd. He wished to be able to read the Bible (a right thing in itself), because he was told he ought to do so, which is altogether another matter; but he sought the truth, and actually learnt all he knew of the truth, from the lips of a man like himself. In fact, Jonathan was taught in the same way—though, as his teacher was a Protestant preacher, and not a Catholic priest, under unspeakable disadvantages,—in which people have ever been taught from the days of the Apostles, and indeed in the way in which every body, Protestant or Catholic, has learnt whatever he believes.*

9. The attentive reader will note many other marks of his being a really conscientious and religious man, in addition to those I have enumerated; but what is most particularly striking is his personal love of God. All through, God is his one object. Jesus is ever in his thoughts and in his heart. His desire and his delight is to hear of Him, to know Him, to serve, love, bless, and glorify Him. Observe what he said on his death-bed: "I was told that if I gave myself heartily to the Lord Jesus Christ, God would be merciful even to such a poor miserable sinner as I am,

* *See* No. 55, *Preaching the Gospel defensible only on Catholic Principles; in which* this whole argument is worked out in the form *of a dialogue.*

and own me for His. Now, sir, if I ever did any thing heartily all the days of my life, I gave myself, my whole self, to Christ at His table." "This is the sum of the Gospel."

Most true. To give oneself, one's whole self to Christ is the sum of the Gospel. He who does this is undoubtedly saved. Such a man is (implicitly) a Catholic, a member of Christ's mystical body, even though he be accidentally outside the pale of the visible Church. We may charitably hope that very many have lived and died, really, honestly, and therefore inculpably ignorant that the Roman Catholic Church is the only true Church,—that very Church which Christ founded, and to which alone the promises are given. And even at this very day, whoever has been baptised, and has not lost his baptismal innocence; or, having lost it, has been restored by true repentance, and holds fast the truth, so far as he has been taught it, and accepts such further truths as come before him, and corresponds with the grace which God bestows upon him, and obeys His secret calls,—depends not on himself, but is little in his own eyes, and keeps his conscience clean, and follows his spiritual instincts, and neglects not prayer, but pays God a true worship in his heart, and loves Him supremely with a real personal love,—the man of whom all this can be said, Protestant as he may seem to be, is no Protestant in reality, but a true Catholic. Whatever be his disadvantages, and, as I have already said, they are unspeakably great, he is in the grace and love of God, and if he perseveres to the end will undoubtedly be saved. This is *invincible* ignorance—an ignorance which a man has not had the means of overcoming.

An ignorance that might have been overcome, and has not been overcome, is not invincible; it is not involuntary, and therefore not inculpable, not without sin: it is not such as will shelter a man from God's searching judgment at the last. Whoever has lost the grace of God, and has not recovered it by a true repentance; whoever loves his own prejudices, and prides himself on his own opinions, and *lulls his conscience* to sleep, and does not follow such

intimations of the truth as God vouchsafes, but resists the secret inspirations of His good Spirit, and refuses to recognise the notes of the one true Church which are displayed before his eyes; desires not to know God better, or seeks himself while affecting to seek God, and prefers his own will to what he knows, or might know, to be God's will—such an one is not in invincible ignorance, but is a rebel in his heart against the Lord God Almighty. True, it may be that he positively does not know that the Roman Catholic Church is the only true Church of Christ on earth, and is not aware that by remaining in his errors he is denying the faith, refusing the grace, and resisting the authority of God; he may really and truly be ignorant what it is he is doing, and yet his ignorance is not invincible and inculpable ignorance, because he has wilfully turned his back upon that which, followed, would have led him to see what he now does not see. He has set himself wilfully against some known truth,—known, acknowledged, but hated, evaded, because it involved some sacrifice of his own will, his self-love, or his worldly interest. He has had misgivings, but has silenced them; he has been afraid to follow up his inquiries lest they should take him where he has no desire to go; he has not been honest with himself; he has stifled some conviction, not perhaps the last conviction that he ought to be a Catholic, but some initial conviction, say about the truth of some principle, or of some doctrine, which, if embraced and acted upon, would have led him in humility and contrition to recognise in the Church the very presence of God in the world, to accept the Creed with the faith of a little child, and kneel at a priest's feet, and make his confession. Such a man's ignorance is a guilty ignorance: it will avail him nothing at the bar of God's judgment.

Hence the folly of talking, as some will talk, that if a man loves his Saviour, and trusts in Him, and does God's will, and serves Him sincerely, he will be saved at the last, whatever errors he may hold. Such language expresses a *mere truism.* The question is, whether a man has availed *himself of all the* means God has given him of knowing

the whole truth which it is His will he should know; or, whether he has wilfully and knowingly neglected them. If he has thus neglected them, he does not love and serve God; he does not do His will, or keep His commandments; he is not faithful to Christ, or obedient to His Spirit; and whatever be the amount of religious truths that he holds, his heart is not right with God, his will is turned from Him, he has chosen the portion of the damned.

There is, perhaps, no word more frequently abused and misunderstood than that of *sincerity;* and it is much to be feared, that the sincere, the honest, and good heart is far more rare than men would have it to be. We hear Protestants take to themselves the credit of sincerity, and assert it in confident terms of others, in a manner which to Catholics is quite startling and appalling. The words of David, the man after God's own heart, were, "Search me, O God, and try me, and see if there be any way of wickedness in me." Favoured as he had been with the approbation of God, he mistrusted that abyss of deceitfulness, the human heart, and in that mistrust lay his safety. I would, therefore, most earnestly call upon those Protestants who rest upon their supposed sincerity as a ground of safety, and who may possibly imagine that the Catholic doctrine concerning invincible ignorance countenances their view of the matter, to consider what sincerity really is, and whether they can lay any solid claim to its possession. Sincerity, in the true and religious sense of the term, is not simply the negation of that gross form of insincerity which consists in professing what we do not believe, so that as long as a man believes himself to hold what he professes, however erroneous his creed may be, he is to be accounted sincere, and consequently safe. The sincerity which, in the teaching of the Church, places a man's soul in safety, is something very different to this.

It is the honest reception of God's truth into the heart which saves. Now as God is infinitely merciful, we believe that He will not leave any soul totally destitute of this *saving knowledge,* but will, in some way, put before it, ever

under the most disadvantageous circumstances, that which is sufficient for salvation. Sincerity, then, is the upright dealing of the heart with this truth. But who can venture to say in an off-hand manner that he has so dealt with it? If men's solicitude about their souls and their eternal interests bore any proportion to what they commonly feel for this world's goods, the point would be easier to decide. The number of those who are in earnest about eternal things is small as compared to those who are wholly wanting in this disposition. Hence it is that they not only do not act in respect to the interests of their souls as they would with respect to the interests of their bodies, but their mental acts are also tainted with insincerity. This would not be possible were they in earnest; but it is very possible, and a thing of commonest occurrence, where men are not. We well know the fatal power man has of allowing his judgment to be blinded, and his reason overpowered, when a strong desire has possession of him. Now, the strong desire which possesses the minds of multitudes of persons is, not the desire to save their souls, but a desire to quiet their consciences, to feel comfortable and satisfied about their spiritual state and their eternal prospects. They confound these two things together; but it is plain that the two objects are widely different. The wish to *save your soul*, and the wish to *think it safe*, are two very different things. And yet I am persuaded that there is a very common confusion of mind on this point among English Protestants. We observe among them a certain religiousness, so to say, of feeling, which deludes the subject of it into thinking himself a sincerely religious person. We see a certain anxiety or solicitude about religious concerns, a wish to be furnished with a set of satisfactory opinions, miscalled a creed, and an attachment to some outward form of pious observances. But all this is quite compatible with the absence of real earnestness. The very inconsistency of the motley collection of opinions adopted —an inconsistency which would excite the derision of these *same persons in* any plain every-day matter-of-fact—*their incapability, or rather* their unwillingness, to follow up the

simplest principle, is a proof of the hollowness of the whole system, and the real insincerity of their heart towards God and their own souls. Can they think that such a religion will stand the scrutiny of the Searcher of hearts?

Such, at least, was not the religion of Jonathan Browne. What he sought was, not comfort and satisfaction, but the will of God and his soul's salvation. To please his Maker and his Redeemer, from the moment he had learnt any thing of Him, and to save his soul, these motives, or rather this one motive, for they blend into one where they are genuine, alone occupied and influenced him. God and his soul—nothing less, nothing intermediate—that with him was all; and that must be all with every one who would be sincere as God accounts sincerity. Those who are happily within the visible fold of Christ's Church must be sincere after this fashion if they wish to be saved; and those who are unhappily without it, not through their own fault, but because they have inherited their sad position, must be nothing less; but as true as God is a God of truth and of mercy, if they are thus sincere and honest, they will be led on from truth to truth, and from grace to grace, till they reach the sacred portal of God's holy Church; or they will be saved as secretly belonging to her fold, and included in the invisible embrace of her maternal love.

That which we love and which we choose shall be our portion. God, in giving us free will, gave us this awful power of choice. Good and evil are before us. By God's grace, which He gives sufficiently to every man, we may choose the good, and assuredly it shall not be taken from us. If a man chooses God, his supreme good, and places his desire and happiness in knowing and doing His will, that God who made him for Himself alone shall be his eternal portion, however scanty, through the inscrutable providence of the All-wise, may have been his knowledge of Him. But if he choose something else short of this, be it his own religious comfort and satisfaction, or an abstract and high standard of duty, or a lofty code of honour, or the self-satisfaction of what is called doing good, or any other plausible *aim* which may wear the semblance of vir-

tue or of piety, verily he shall have his reward; but that reward is not that for which his Maker created him, nor that which Christ died to purchase for him.

When will Protestants learn this great truth—that no man is necessary to God Almighty; neither his high gifts, nor his pompous services, nor his natural virtues? God has need of no man. He might have created millions of worlds more beautiful than any He has made, and peopled them with more exalted beings than He has been pleased to create; and if He had done so, He would have needed them and their perfections and their services no more than He needs those of poor sinful man. But by a mystery of ineffable love He has, so to say, made one thing needful to Him, though the need is ours and not His; He has willed to need our hearts. He asks for them; yes, of every man, woman, and child whom He has made; and oh, wonder! He gives His own Heart in return:—Himself, indivisibly, entirely, in all the fulness of that eternal love which is Beatitude, the joy of God, into which He shall bid His faithful servants enter. Hence it is, that he who loves God sincerely and truly is His by the eternal covenant He has made in His Son; and ignorance, inculpable ignorance, shall never exclude a man from the embrace of his God. The blind and the lame and the halt shall arise and take possession of the Kingdom of Heaven.

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THE

HOLY SACRIFICE OF THE MASS.

V.

THE SACRIFICE OF THE ALTAR A PROPITIATORY SACRIFICE.

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The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

V.

The Sacrifice of the Altar a Propitiatory Sacrifice.

When persons who have not had the advantage of Catholic teaching are told that the Sacrifice of the Mass is a *propitiatory* sacrifice, that is to say, that it appeases the anger of God, and obtains the remission of sins, they immediately exclaim against the doctrine as being a disparagement of the atoning blood of Christ, and of the one perfect and sufficient satisfaction which He made for the sins of the whole world once for all upon the Cross. It is necessary, therefore, to explain what is meant by the Mass being a propitiatory sacrifice, and how it comes to be propitiatory in the true Catholic sense of the term.

I. In the first place, then, it should be remembered that in the old Jewish law, and even before that law was instituted,—in fact from the very beginning, there were sin-offerings, or sacrifices for sin, as I stated in my first Number.* Thus Job, who was not subject to the law of Moses, offered sacrifices for his sons, and that to propitiate the anger of God; for he said: "It may be that my sons have *sinned* and cursed God in their hearts" (i. 5); and in the book of Leviticus (chap. iv.-vi.) we find described the various kinds of sacrifices for sin which the Jews were commanded to offer. Now these sacrifices, be it observed, were in some sense really propitiatory; in some sense they really appeased the anger of God, and obtained the forgiveness of sins for those in whose behalf they were offered. Thus, when the wrath of the Lord was kindled

* *No. 24. Sacrifice the highest Act of Worship*, p. 6-8.

against the friends of Job, He bade them "offer up for themselves a burnt offering" (He said also that His servant Job should pray for them), lest He "deal with them after their folly." And again and again it is asserted in the self-same words, in the 4th chapter of Leviticus, that if the people sin, "the priest shall make atonement for them, and *it shall be forgiven them.*" These sin-offerings, or sacrifices for sin, were, therefore, in some way or other propitiatory sacrifices; they were really instrumental in producing the effect for which they were offered. They were typical, it is true, but they were not *merely* typical; they were not merely shadows or prophecies of the remission of sins which Christ purchased for us on the Cross; the persons for whom they were offered did really obtain by their means the *present* pardon and remission of their sins. They had not to wait for that pardon and remission till Christ had shed His blood for them; but as God promised, so it came to pass, "the priest made atonement for them, and their sin was forgiven them." *How* and *why* that result followed, is another question; all I wish you now to observe is, that these sacrifices were in some way or other propitiatory sacrifices; and yet they did not interfere with or disparage the great propitiation which the Son of God made for us on the cross. In like manner, the Sacrifice of the Mass may be in its own way a propitiatory sacrifice, and yet be no disparagement of the Sacrifice of the Cross.

But the sacrifices of the law were typical, not only of the Sacrifice of the Cross, but also (as was shown in my third Number*) of the Sacrifice of the Mass. If, therefore, the merely typical sacrifices were propitiatory in their effects, much more must the Sacrifice of the Mass be propitiatory, seeing that it is the fulfilment of them. The Sacrifice of the Mass must be propitiatory in a far more real and perfect way than were the old legal sacrifices; in it the promise of God must be far more perfectly fulfilled than in the Levitical sin-offerings; and in some far deeper sense it must still be true to say, that "when the

* *No. 30. Scripture Proofs of the* Doctrine, pp. 7-8.

priest makes atonement for the people, their sin is forgiven them."

But further: when our Divine Lord instituted this most Holy Sacrifice, the very words He used show that He instituted it for the remission of sins. It is of the "chalice" or "cup" (that is to say, of His Blood as shed, or poured, from the cup or chalice on the altar, and not as shed upon the cross) that He says (Matt. xxvi. 28), "it is for many unto remission of sins." The Blood shed upon the cross was for the remission of sins, and the Eucharistic chalice, or cup, was in its way also for the remission of sins. He says likewise to His Apostles (Luke xxii. 20): "This chalice, or cup, is the New Testament in My Blood, which is (or 'shall be') shed for you." He calls the sacrificial cup the New Testament, the New Covenant: it is not the cup of communion, for that was not shed *for* them, but given *to* them; it is the cup as offered in sacrifice of which He here speaks, and He calls it the "New Testament," because thereby they obtained the remission of their sins, which is the great Gospel promise.

In a former Number* I showed you that in the Christian Church there are still, and will ever be as long as the world lasts, both priests and sacrifices; that the priests of the Church are the ministers and representatives of Christ; and that the sacrifice they are set continually to offer is the unbloody Sacrifice of the Altar. Now the main end for which priests are set to offer sacrifice is the remission of sins. St. Paul says (Heb. v. 1), "Every high priest taken from among men is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both gifts and *sacrifices for sins*." I have already shown you that Christ not only *was* our priest when he offered Himself upon the cross, but that He *is* our priest now that He has ascended into heaven: He intercedes for us continually before the Mercy-seat; He still offers what, in the language of St. Paul, are "better sacrifices (than the Jewish) within the veil;" and as "a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedeck"

* No. 26. *The Sacrifice of the Altar* one and the same with the *Sacrifice of the Cross.*

He offers what outwardly and in its accidents seems but a sacrifice of bread and wine, but which really and substantially is His own Body and Blood, upon the altars of the Church. All this I have already entered into at length, and I cannot go over the same ground again; but if this be so, and in the Christian Church there be a real and proper sacrifice, then that sacrifice is a sacrifice for sin; in other words, a propitiatory sacrifice.

And indeed you have only to consider what the Sacrifice of the Altar really is, to be assured that it is in an eminent degree a propitiatory sacrifice, and most powerfully efficacious for the remission of sin. The old typical sacrifices were propitiatory, not through any force they had in themselves, but by virtue of the great atonement which the promised Messiah was to make, the power of which began "from the foundation of the world." How great, then, must be the propitiatory value of a sacrifice in which the atonement made upon the cross is again and again commemorated; in which Christ, through His ministers, is Himself our priest; nay, in which He is Himself the Victim, who is the Lamb without spot, the Son of God made man.

II. So far I have but stated the reasons which should lead us to suppose that the Sacrifice of the Mass, being what it is, is in *some* sense a propitiatory sacrifice; I have now to do what is far more important, viz. to explain in *what* sense it is propitiatory.

In the first place, then, the Mass is not a propitiatory sacrifice in the same sense as the Sacrifice on the Cross was propitiatory. By the Sacrifice on the Cross Christ redeemed the world. He then and there paid the redemption-price in His mangled Flesh and streaming Blood, and the agonies of His human Heart. He really suffered, He really died; and His sufferings and death satisfied the divine justice, and merited for us the pardon and remission of our sins. He paid the full price, He made a perfect satisfaction, He *wrought* our eternal redemption. The Sacrifice of the *Cross was itself the* one complete, all-sufficient, consummating act. *Nothing* was wanting to it. It was infinite in

value, exhaustless in virtue. And it is now the source of all grace, the cause of our salvation.

It is not thus with the Sacrifice of the Mass. All its virtue flows from the Sacrifice of the Cross. All its value consists in coming after that sacrifice, in being commemorative of it, and in a manner renewing it: renewing, in an unbloody manner and without suffering, upon the altar, what was done with blood and suffering upon the cross. In its proper self, therefore, and without reference to the cross, it is not satisfactory or propitiatory; whatever force it has comes from the sacrifice made on Calvary. This is the first great difference.

And the second great difference is, that even as filled with the virtue flowing from the cross, it is not, *properly* speaking, either satisfactory or propitiatory. When Christ offered Himself on the cross He was a *mortal* man, and His acts were therefore both meritorious and satisfactory; but now He is *immortal;* and though he is really present on the altar, and is really Himself the Victim that is sacrificed, such act is neither meritorious nor satisfactory: He can no longer merit or make satisfaction for sin, because He can no longer suffer. In this sense, therefore, the Sacrifice of the Mass is not a propitiatory sacrifice.

But in another sense it is propitiatory. It begs, implores, or, what is theologically called, *impetrates* the remission of sin for the whole world at large, or for those in whose special behalf it is offered; and it is satisfactory also because it impetrates the remission of punishment for them likewise. And all this it does for the sake of that pure Victim which was offered bleeding on the cross, and is continually offered without blood upon the altar. When the priest, acting for Christ and as His minister, offers the most Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, he performs the highest possible act of worship, he makes the most powerful act of supplication. For what is the act, and who is it that really makes it? It is our great High Priest offering Himself. It is the "Minister of the True Tabernacle" ministering for us; it is our Divine Intercessor interceding for us, the *one Mediator* between God and man. It cannot be for

often repeated:—The Sacrifice of the Altar is one way in which Christ fulfils for us His office of Intercessor; and the Sacrifice of the Altar differs from the Sacrifice of the Cross just so far and in such sense as the office which our Lord now performs for us in His glorious life in heaven differs from the office which He performed for us during His suffering life on earth. Both are portions of His mediatorial work. Once He offered Himself with suffering; now He offers Himself without suffering. On the cross He redeemed us with His Blood; on the altar He intercedes or impetrates that we may individually have part in that redemption. This is the third great difference.

The Sacrifice of the Cross, indeed, did but impetrate: it did not *bestow* upon mankind the pardon which it purchased for them; or all men would from that moment have been pardoned, justified, and saved. Protestants must of course grant this, and therefore it is that they insist upon the necessity of individual faith in order to the laying hold of or appropriating the promises of Christ. Christ has paid the price; but for individuals to benefit by what He has done, something is necessary on their part; and that they may do this something, we may add, Christ does not withhold His grace. This grace He bestows in many ways, but especially by sacraments. But the *Sacrifice* of the Mass is not a *sacrament;* it does not, therefore, *bestow* remission of sins; it does but impetrate it; that is to say, it pleads most powerfully for the sinner, that he may be brought to repentance, may make an act of true contrition, and obtain the remission of his sins. In such sense the Sacrifice of the Mass is a propitiatory sacrifice.

Again, if we would appease the anger of God and deprecate His vengeance,—if we would beg His mercy for ourselves or others His offending creatures, how can we render our pleadings more persuasive, how can we more surely move Him to pity, than by representing before Him the Death and Passion of His Beloved Son? But the Sacrifice of the Mass is no mere representation; it does not *merely commemorate* the Death of Christ, or remind the Father *of it as a thing* that happened so many hundred

years ago: it exhibits it before Him; it renews it, not in figure merely, but really and truly, though after an unbloody manner. Christ therein re-enacts as in a mystery the sacrifice of Himself; presents Himself upon the altar "a Lamb as it were slain," and makes propitiation for us. In this way also the Sacrifice of the Mass is plainly a propitiatory sacrifice.

Nor let it be objected as an argument against the propitiatory nature or efficacy of the Mass, that the sinner for whom it is offered is not infallibly converted, or that it fails in arresting the arm of divine justice, or that any other end which is desired is not thereby absolutely secured. The grace of God, it should be remembered, may be resisted. Our Divine Lord does not force the wills of His creatures: He may offer His gifts to us, and we may reject them; He may offer the sinner the grace of repentance, and the sinner may not correspond therewith. The Catholic doctrine is, that the Sacrifice of the Altar is thus far infallibly effectual, that grace is *offered;* its *acceptance* depends on the will of the sinner. In all His dealings with men God works variously, according to their various dispositions: thus, by means of a Mass offered for him a sinner may obtain the first disposition towards amendment, and may have a feeling of compunction; may desist from some particular act of sin, or even pause in his career of vice, and yet relapse again into his wickedness. And further, God has not bound Himself instantly to grant the boon that may be asked; He may delay for a season, and bestow it when and as He pleases. That the Mass is not immediately effectual, therefore, or that outwardly it seems to have no effect at all, argues nothing against its propitiatory power. It is no argument against the efficacy of prayer, and the express promises of Christ respecting it, that oftentimes it seems without avail. Something is wanting on the part of man: so we read in the Gospel (Matt. xiii. 58, compare Mark vi. 5), that "Jesus could do there no mighty work because of their unbelief." Or some delay is interposed, why we know not: so the prayer of St. Stephen, which *obtained the conversion* of St. Paul, was not answered till

after many days. But the prime example of all, and that which serves best to illustrate this difficulty:—the very Passion of Christ, the very sacrifice of His Death upon the Cross, the Precious Blood itself, is not effectual except by slow degrees and long processes, and with many failures and shortcomings on the part even of those who in the end are saved; and for how many does He seem to have died and shed His Blood in vain! But any way, the Sacrifice of the Cross was not instantly and infallibly effectual; and yet Christ died for the sins of the whole world. How then can we object against the Sacrifice of the Altar, that it is not more effectual?

And so of averting the divine judgments, or obtaining blessings, whether spiritual or temporal, by means of the Holy Sacrifice, it is sufficient to observe, in addition to what has been already said, that those for whom we offer it may be unworthy of the favours for which we ask; nay, that their unworthiness may be so great, that God will not be appeased even though the Holy Sacrifice be once and again repeated for them. The difficulty is of a general kind, and affects equally what religious Protestants believe:—Jesus, our great High Priest, stands continually making intercession for us; and yet there are sinners who live and die in their sin, and are lost eternally. The fault rests not with Him, not with His Blood, His grace, His sacraments, His intercessions, His priestly acts, but with those on whom He has wasted all the exuberance of His mercy and love. Catholics believe (as do Protestants also) that Jesus pleads for them in heaven, although His pleadings seem in vain. He is our Advocate with the Father; all power is given to Him in heaven and on earth; and one mode of that advocacy, one act of that power, is the oblation which He makes of Himself in the Sacrifice of the Mass.

I must not pass over in silence one other effect of this Holy Sacrifice, viz. the benefit which the souls of the faithful departed receive therefrom. By each Mass that is *offered* for them, they become partakers in the satisfactions *of Christ; the fruits* of His Passion are applied for the re*lief of their sufferings*; their pains are diminished; light

and comfort are let in upon them; the time of expiation is shortened, and their deliverance, it may be, effectually accomplished. We know not the particular efficacy of any Mass that is offered; for, besides that any such offering is but of limited application, its effect is greater when offered with greater devotion and more fervent prayer; neither do we know the amount of expiation which the suffering souls have yet to pay: but this we do know, this we are certain of, that *some* benefit, *some* relief, they ordinarily obtain.

I have now gone through all the main difficulties which Protestants feel in accepting the Catholic doctrine of the Mass, and shown that the objections they make against it have their origin, either in a total misconception of what that doctrine is, or in the little hold they have of other truths of Christianity, and especially those very truths which they think are impugned thereby. Whatever other objections they may feel, are so closely connected with, or rather so entirely dependent on, those I have endeavoured to remove, that it is useless to discuss them. When once they have learnt what the true doctrine is, and grasped the great and glorious idea which it embodies, the real intellectual difficulty will have vanished, and all that they will need is the grace of God, to turn what is a mere conviction of the reason into an act of divine faith. That grace, that priceless gift, God will not withhold from them if only they seek it by humble submission to His Holy Church, which is His representative on earth, and through which He ordinarily dispenses all His blessings. Why will they run for ever the same eternal round of cavil and dispute, renewing again and again the old worn-out objections? Surely they cannot suppose that Jesus' intercession at the right hand of the Father is an idle passive thing; that His mediatorial reign is like one perpetual repose, His advocacy an unmeaning title. But if not, what is it He does? what is the nature of His office? What can it be but to impetrate for us, and to communicate to us—for whom He died—*the benefit of* His Passion? to renew continually to

remembrance of the Sacrifice of His Death? And how does this differ, in effect, from what the Catholic Church teaches in her doctrine of the Mass, and by a thousand other ways? To Protestants the work that Christ wrought for us would seem to be a thing over and past; His Passion an event that happened so many long years ago, and to which they can appeal only as to something in the far distance, of which they can catch but a faint glimpse by painful straining. Jesus died and is gone—this (practically speaking) is the creed of most religious Protestants. How different is the faith of Catholics! We know that He is near; that, not by a figure of speech, but really, He is present with us. He dwells with us, by a most marvellous condescension of love, upon the altars of the Church. There is not a moment at which His silent presence does not plead for us; nay, not a moment day or night on this round world of ours, at which He is not lifted up by priestly hands to make reparation for our sins, to reconcile us to the Father, to impetrate gifts, graces, blessings for us, to offer in His own person the only worship which is worthy of the Eternal, and which gives Him the honour which is His due. And thus it is that, not in heaven only, but on earth, He is—not only *was* but *is*—"the propitiation for our sins" (1 John ii. 2). So does He intercede for us continually; so, according to His word and promise, the chalice of His Blood is "shed for many unto remission of sins" (Matt. xxvi. 28); and we "are come," even now, in this our mortal life—"to Jesus the Mediator of the New Testament, and the Sprinkling of Blood which speaketh better than that of Abel" (Heb. xii. 24).

And now you must see what the Mass really is.* It is not a form of prayer, but an *act*, in which, by the hands of His ministers, Jesus Christ is offered in expiation for sin, and for all those other ends for which it was instituted by Him. One alone stands forth and makes the awful offering; the rest kneel around, and join their intentions and devotions with his; but even were there not a solitary

* *For what follows*, the writer is indebted to an article in the *Rambler on "Popular Services,"* vol. vi. pp. 338-342.

worshipper present, the sacrifice both for living and dead would be efficacious and complete. To join in this act of sacrifice, and to participate in its effects, it is not necessary to follow the priest, or to use the words he uses. We need not hear, or even understand, what it is he says; and in fact Mass is said in Latin, which is an unknown tongue to the majority of people. This, indeed, is made a matter of accusation against us, as if the whole thing were a barren form or senseless mummery, except, it may be, to the favoured few. Protestants having nothing in their religion corresponding to the Sacrifice of the Mass, their only notion of congregational worship is that of persons hearing or reading the same forms of prayer all together at one and the same time. Of the union of heart, of intention, and still more of action, which constitutes the very life of Catholic public services, and pre-eminently of the Mass, they are ignorant; and therefore it is that they charge the Catholic Church with putting ceremonial in the place of worship, and making the acts of the priest serve instead of the devotion of the people.

How contrary is the fact! Every Catholic knows what the priest is *doing*, though he may not know or even understand what he is *saying*, and is consequently able to follow with his devotions every portion of the Holy Sacrifice. Thus he rejoices in a liberty of heart to which the Protestant is an utter stranger. He can come before his God and Saviour, and while the tremendous action of the Mass proceeds, lay bare his whole soul before Him, tell Him of all his sins and failings, all his particular trials and temptations, all his personal joys and griefs, all his individual wants and desires, hampered by no devotional forms whatever, or assisted only by such as his feelings at the time approve. Hence that wonderful union of sacrificial, of congregational, and of individual devotion, which a public Mass presents. Before the altar stands the celebrating priest;—in himself nothing, in himself a sinner, and the mere minister only by whom the Eternal High Priest offers Himself to the Divine Majesty. Absorbed in his awful work to an extent *which the most* devout of those who are not Catholics ca

scarcely conceive, he prays, he consecrates, he offers, he adores, he communicates, he gives thanks, hardly conscious the while whether he is alone or surrounded by thousands,—whether he is in silence, or whether the church is ringing with the voices of a numerous choir. In the multitude behind him each Catholic, while he never forgets that he is one with all his brethren in Christ, and is united to Christ by the very act of his adoption into His mystical body, approaches God, and shares in the Sacrifice with a full and free manifestation of all his necessities as an individual soul, for whom individually Christ died. In one place kneels perhaps some poor grey-headed aged man telling his beads, for he cannot read even his own language. By his side is a young child, with her little book full of pictures; and at each separate division of the Mass she says one of the short prayers before her, and spends the rest of her time in watching the movements of the priest and his assistants; and wonders, it may be, whether there is any thing more beautiful in heaven itself. Close at hand is a steady, sober, respectable gentleman, holding his spectacles in one hand, while with the other he supports a well-bound Missal, in which he attentively reads every word, either in Latin or in English; accompanying the priest as far as possible in every phrase, unconscious of the slightest desire for a more individual expression of his pious thoughts and well-ordered unenthusiastic feelings. Near him, again, is a young woman with her face buried in her hands, or with a look expressing the intensest adoration and love, gazing at the Adorable Presence before her, forgetting for awhile every pang of heart or pain of body, and anticipating the ineffable joys of the moment when the unveiled Godhead shall be revealed to her for ever. Another, like herself, perhaps in poverty, perhaps in wealth, alternately reads and meditates. She has before her a brief outline of the Passion of Jesus Christ, the course of its incidents adapted to the course of the unbloody Sacrifice of the Altar; and at every step she has some special mercy to ask in immediate connection with the sufferings and death of her Lord: she *prays for pardon for* some sin, for deliverance from some

emptation, for protection in some trial, for the conversion f some friend or relation, for a blessing on some person vho desires her prayers, or who has injured her, or whom he has injured, or on the Church itself, on the Pope, on ier country; or she gives thanks for mercies past, or prays n some other of the innumerable ways in which the Chris- ian heart draws near its God. By her side is a person earing Mass for the second time that day, and after com- nunicating at the first, converting every separate step in he second into the most acceptable of thanksgivings for he transcendent gift just vouchsafed to him. Or—to Pro- estant eye most strange of all—close at hand, in the midst of the people, a priest is saying his office; turning over the leaves of his Breviary, his lips rapidly moving in the recital of psalms and antiphons and collects; yet every now and then, by his rising up or kneeling down, or by his laying aside his book, showing that he too, in most un-Protestant fashion, is participating in the sacrifice, and sharing the intentions of both celebrant and congregation.

Yet, amidst all this endless variety, there is but one mind. The prayers of the priest are not substituted for those of the people. No one desires to force his brother against his will. No one desires to participate in a more congregational service. No one complains that Latin is the only language used; or that much of what the priest says is heard by no one, and that many of the congregation understand not a single word he utters. It is the most marvellous union of liberty and law which this earth can show. It is a more perfect harmonising of the duties of man, both as a brother and as an individual, than the unbelieving world can conceive. It is the most striking exemplification of that union of discipline and freedom which is the guiding principle of the Church in her treatment of her children, which she can any where exhibit. Like the direct works of the Almighty, it displays an astonishing instance of that unity in variety, which man in his secular works is ever seeking to attain, and so seldom accomplishing. It is at once the joy of the Catholic, the wonder of the candid Protestant and the *scoff of the vulgar* unbeliever. To those who a

without, it may seem a mummery; but to those who are within, it is the foretaste of heaven. "O sacred banquet! in which Christ is received; the memory of His Passion is renewed; the mind is filled with grace; and a pledge of future glory is given to us." The beggar with his beads, the child with her pictures, the gentleman with his Missal, the maiden meditating on each mystery of the Passion, or adoring her God in silent love too deep for words, the grateful communicant, and the priest with his breviary,—have but one intent, one meaning, and one heart, as they have one action, one object, before their mental vision. They bow themselves to the dust as sinners; they pray to be heard for Christ's sake; they joyfully accept His words as the words of God; they offer the bread and wine; they unite themselves with the celebrant in the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, which he as their priest offers for them; they communicate spiritually; they give thanks for the ineffable gift which God has given them. Their words differ, their thoughts vary; but their hearts are united, and their will is one. Therefore is their offering pure and acceptable in the sight of Him who knows their secret souls, and who accepts a man, not for the multitude or for the fewness of his sayings, for his book, or for his beads, but for the *intention* with which he has, according to his sphere and capacities, fulfilled His sacred will, through the merits of the Adorable Victim who is offered for him.

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THE

MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW

WHAT HAD THE CHURCH OR THE POPE TO SAY TO IT?

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The Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

What had the Church or the Pope to say to it?

The Massacre of the Huguenots, or French Protestants, on St. Bartholomew's day, in the year of our Lord 1572, has been made the ground of an accusation of the most monstrous description against the Pope and the Court of Rome; and forms one of those cut-and-dried charges which are repeated again and again by platform-orators and scribblers in the newspapers, in their attacks upon the Catholic Church and the Catholic religion. My present task is to examine whether, or how far, the accusation be true; in other words, whether, or how far, it be supported by facts. But for the sake of the object I have in view, it is necessary that I should give you some idea of the religious and political situation of France at the time of the frightful catastrophe which is the more immediate subject of my inquiry. It would be simply impossible to understand the real bearings of the case, without some previous information as to the kind of people the Huguenots were; what it was that made them so obnoxious to the ruling powers, and infuriated the populace against them; and, in short, what was the train of circumstances that led to the perpetration of so terrible a crime.

When the so-called Reformation broke out in Germany, Francis I. sat on the throne of France. Some idea may be formed of his character from the fact that he, a Christian king, leagued himself with the Turks, who were then threatening the southern states of Christendom; and *Catholic as he was*, took part with the Protestants of Germany *against* the adherents of the ancient faith, while

his own kingdom of France he pursued the professors of the new opinions with fire and sword. Selfish, licentious, and vain, a faithless husband and a fickle friend, a despot in the state, a tyrant in his pleasures, wasteful alike of the blood and of the money of his subjects,—I cannot better characterise Francis I. of France than by saying that, with all his brilliant qualities, his extraordinary personal courage, his vaunted chivalry and occasional generosity, he was the worthy contemporary and compeer of Henry VIII. of England. Indeed, it is a curious fact in history, which I leave to Protestant controversialists to explain, that as the birth of Protestantism in this country dates from King Henry's divorce of his lawful queen Catherine, and his marriage (which was really no marriage) with Anne Boleyn, so its introduction into France is marked by the supremacy at court of two women notorious for their immodesty: the one, Margaret of Valois, sister to the king, and afterwards queen of Navarre, a lady of scandalous manners, and the writer of licentious romances; the other, the profligate Anne of Pisseleu, the king's acknowledged mistress, whom he had married to a worthless minion of his own, and thus created Duchess of Etampes. The former, in her zeal for heresy, felt herself moved to reform the majestic canon of the Mass, and actually composed a new service, the most remarkable features in which were the suppression of the adoration of our Divine Lord in the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar, and the erasure of the name of His blessed Virgin Mother. She also strongly decried the celibacy of the clergy, as persons of lax morality have always done. Such were the instruments chosen by Satan for carrying the false gospel of Protestantism into Catholic France.

For France was Catholic, heartily and resolutely Catholic, as Sismondi and other Protestant writers have confessed and deplored. The court was corrupt, infamously corrupt; there was much wickedness in high places, and consequently a disposition to adopt the loose and irreligious principles of Protestantism; but France was sound at heart; the great mass of the people were Catholic; a portion only of the nobles inclined to the new heresy.

Margaret collected about her a set of literary men, free-thinkers and free-livers, who, like their infidel successors in the eighteenth century, under pretence of clearing away what they called superstitions or merely human traditions, covertly attacked the fundamental doctrines and holiest mysteries of the Christian faith. Francis, also, had allowed himself to be cajoled by the Reformist party, and had permitted a considerable number of German Lutherans to hold professorships in the universities of France, under the plea of advancing classical learning. These men secretly corrupted the minds of the young students, and by their writings and disputations seduced many among the higher ranks from the religion of their fathers. They even drew over to their party certain of the clergy, who now began to insinuate false doctrines in their discourses to the people.

Nevertheless, Francis, under the influence of his sister Margaret, more or less encouraged by his indifference the efforts of the innovators. He played fast and loose with heresy; one while conniving at it, and at another showing it no mercy, as policy suggested. An event, however, now occurred, which not only excited the anger of the king, but roused a feeling of indignation throughout the country. I would call your particular attention to the circumstance, because it will show you what the real character and object of the Protestant party was, not only in France, but in Europe generally. They were not content to be left at liberty to hold their own opinions, and serve God according to what their descendants call their "conscience;" they were not content with religious equality, much less toleration; what they wanted was ascendency. They, a miserable minority in the country, wished to domineer over the Catholic population; their object was to destroy the Catholic religion, and to root it out of the land. This alone would have contented them. The act of violence to which I have alluded, and which, I have said, excited so much indignation in Paris and throughout the country, took place on the night of Whitsunday 1528. A party of Protestants mutilated an image of our Blessed Lady, striking off at the same time the head from a figure of the Infant Jesus, and committing other profanat-

English Protestants would quite feel and understand the insult implied in such an act, if directed against a statue of the Queen of England or the Prince of Wales; and the Catholics of France were equally, or rather far more alive to the impiety which dictated this sacrilegious outrage against the Queen of Heaven and the Divine Child.

A similar act of violence had been perpetrated three years before in the town of Meaux. The heretics pulled down the notices of indulgence which, as usual, had been fixed upon the walls, and posted up in their stead placards describing the Pope as Antichrist; they also tore to pieces the forms of prayers which were affixed to the walls of the cathedral church; and proceeded at last to defy the authorities and exasperate the people, by publicly desecrating an image of the Virgin Mother with Jesus in her arms. For this outrage on the faith of the nation and on public order the fanatics were punished; and their ringleader, already notorious for his misdemeanours, was burnt as a heretic and blasphemer. I am in no wise concerned to defend the conduct of the government; Francis and his ministers were bad Catholics, and their measures were often mercilessly severe; but it should be remembered that the modes of punishing malefactors were at this period much more rigorous in all countries than they have since become (our own English code, in times since the Reformation, was one of the bloodiest, if not the very bloodiest, in Europe, and remained unaltered till a very recent date). This is a fact which should be borne in mind when judging of the treatment of criminals, whether by Catholics or Protestants, in former days. Death by fire was a capital punishment in use all over Europe, and certainly did not exceed in atrocity the ordinary mode of executing traitors in our own country during the reign of good Queen Bess: which was, first to hang a man; then, while the sufferer still breathed, to tear out his heart and disembowel him; and lastly, to *cut up his* body into four parts: in other words, hang, *draw, and quarter*; a punishment, be it remembered, which *was inflicted on* 128 English Catholic priests (not to men- *en lay persons*) simply for practising the duties of their *cred calling.* However, the miscreants who were guilty

of the outrages I have described, were without doubt disturbers of the public peace, who brought down upon themselves the vengeance of the civil power by their violent conduct. They were punished as the laws of the time directed; and if Catholics acted similarly at the present day in a Protestant country, there is no doubt in the world they would receive the punishment, whatever that might be, which the laws awarded for such offences.

For the next five years the Protestants of France continued to perpetrate every manner of impiety and sacrilege, wantonly violating the holiest feelings and deepest convictions of the nation. Again and again we read of churches pillaged and desecrated, the images of the Saints disfigured, the Mother of God blasphemed, the most Blessed Sacrament profaned; outrages on public decency which it was impossible for any Catholic government to overlook, and which certainly the perpetrators had no right to expect that a Catholic people would quietly endure. It was, in fact, the beginning of a rebellion. Every day the insolence of the sectaries increased; and at length reached such a height, that the king, roused to indignation, took a firm determination once for all to put them down by force. Libels of the foulest character, placards filled with the most revolting blasphemies, were scattered about the streets, or posted up in public places and on the very doors of the churches. So numerous were these publications, that the year 1535 was called from them the "year of placards." It seemed as if the havoc and rapine of war had begun before arms had been resorted to; the priests were insulted and maltreated at the very altars, the altars themselves thrown down, the churches pillaged, every thing most holy trampled under foot, by roving bands of Protestant marauders. The people called on the government for protection from their assailants—the enemies, as it seemed to them, not only of the Catholic faith, but of the Christian name.

From this year may be dated what Protestants have called, and in some respects have rightly called, the persecution of Protestantism in France. The Huguenots would not leave the Catholics in peace, and at length the Ca-

lics turned upon them. The suppression of the new opinions by every species of coercion which the laws provided, began to be regarded as matter of self-preservation. To the Catholics of this time there appeared but the alternative of putting down the enemies of their religion, or being themselves destroyed. If they turned their eyes to other countries, where Protestantism was in the ascendency, they saw every where, *without exception*, the Catholic population oppressed and pitilessly persecuted. Protestants had not then begun to talk of toleration and the rights of conscience: they never talked in this strain until they found it necessary for their own peace and comfort sake. As long as they hoped to have every thing their own way, they persecuted without mercy. Religious toleration was no part of the Protestant gospel when first it saw the light. In Denmark, Norway, and Iceland, the Lutherans, under the sanguinary Christiern, had proscribed the ancient religion, and massacred its professors. In Sweden, Gustavus Wasa had perpetrated the worst enormities on the Catholic clergy and religious of both sexes; and in that country (as in Denmark), by the aid of the Protestant sectaries, an odious tyranny had been established on the ruins of the old Catholic liberties. In Silesia, as in other parts of Germany, and also in Switzerland, the Catholic inhabitants had been given up to the brutal violence of their fanatical adversaries; so that the more humane Protestants themselves exclaimed against a reformation so savage and bloody. Every where, in fact, the Catholics were treated as a conquered people,—as a people who had no rights, civil or religious. Did the Catholics of France look across the straits which separated their country from our own, they saw the same horrors beginning to be enacted: a tyrannical king assuming to himself the supreme authority in the Church as well as in the State, and domineering it over the faith and consciences of his subjects; religious houses in ruins; the very tombs of the dead rifled; the *royal coffers* replenished with the spoils taken from the *Church and from* the poor; scaffolds reeking with the *blood of the best* and noblest in the land. With these *vents before its* eyes, what wonder that Catholic France

should view with alarm the first violent efforts of a party who did not disguise their intention of uprooting the national religion, and whose first acts were of so aggressive and formidable a character! The king and the government, persuaded that nothing but extreme measures could save their country from the evils with which Protestantism had devastated other lands, resolved by one decisive blow to strike terror into the Reformists; and having secured twenty-four of the authors of the blasphemous placards alluded to, had them publicly committed to the flames. Of the justice or necessity of so wholesale a retribution, I have not a word to say. In this, as in every other proceeding, Francis was actuated solely by motives of state-policy, and not by zeal for religion. Indeed, I have no hesitation in declaring, that the punishment of heresy during his reign was made a mere political engine, and became in the hands of a time-serving government nothing short of downright persecution.

All this time Protestantism in its most irreligious form found protection and encouragement at the court of Navarre, a state dependent on the kingdom of France. Little disguise was used, and the most sacred mysteries of the faith were derided and burlesqued. The terrible example, however, which Francis had made of the heretics in Paris effectually alarmed the Navarrese faction, and drove them to carry on the conspiracy against the Catholic religion with more secrecy and dissimulation. In France itself, the conflict, for such in fact it was, still proceeded with but little intermission. On the one hand, the Huguenots broke out from time to time in acts of violence against the Catholics; and on the other, the provincial parliaments and the magistrates, provoked by their excesses, ceased not to institute the most rigorous search after heretics and their writings, and to inflict the last penalties of the law upon all whom they detected.

Henry II. pursued the same policy as his father;—like Francis, he supported the Protestants both in Germany and in England,* and treated them to all the rigours of *the law in his own kingdom.* By the common law of En-

* See No. 7 of this series, p. 10.

rope, heresy was a civil crime; and as Protestantism was heresy, and heresy of the most aggressive kind, the law took its course: neither Francis nor Henry would tolerate any leniency or forbearance on the part of the Catholic prelates, who hoped by gentle treatment to win back the deluded people to the faith. In fact, finding that the Church courts imposed upon offenders only some slight canonical penance, the king took the matter out of their hands; left to the ecclesiastical tribunals the power only of deciding what was heresy, and who were guilty thereof; and gave absolute authority to the civil magistrate to award the penalty. This fact is worth noticing. The Church, according to her wont, inclined to the more humane and gentle course; it was the State that put the terrors of the law in force; and without palliating for an instant the excessive severity that was practised by the government, I must confess that there was much to be said in its excuse. It is all very well for people now-a-days to talk of the folly and the enormity of punishing persons, and even putting them to death, on account of their religious opinions; this is but to throw dust in the eyes of their hearers or readers. Protestantism was, in truth, sedition and rebellion. I do not mean only that in every country Protestants were in fact arrayed against the civil power, though this would be to say quite enough in explanation of the animosity of the government against them; but Protestantism itself was not a mere set of religious or irreligious opinions: it was an aggressive and a revolutionary power; it attacked the existing order of things; it sought to destroy the constitution of every state in which it showed its head; and that too by a series of outrages, and with an insolence and an audacity, which it would be difficult to characterise in strong enough terms. There is certainly nothing to show that, had the Protestants of France abstained from riot and sacrilege, and conducted themselves as orderly members of society, they would ever *have suffered* the treatment they did. One thing at least *is undeniable,* that they would not have excited the fury *of the people against* them, as was evidently the case.

It is not pretended, then, to deny that the Protestants,

and the Calvinists in particular, who were most persevering in their efforts and politically the strongest, were most cruelly dealt with by the civil power; numbers were committed to the flames with every circumstance that was most calculated to strike terror into their adherents, or, I may add, excite the commiseration of beholders. This went on as long as Henry II. reigned, that is, from 1547 to 1559; and was continued by the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, uncles of Mary Queen of Scots, who had married the young king, Francis II., still in his minority. These two nobles, who were at the head of the most powerful family in France, ruled the affairs of the kingdom, and prepared to prosecute the heretics with renewed severity. One incident that marks this epoch is worthy of notice. An apostate priest, named Dubourg, being put on his trial for heresy, broke out in vehement reproaches against one of his judges, and with the air of a would-be prophet warned him of his approaching end. His friends knew well how to bring about the fulfilment of the prediction: that very evening the judge was murdered in the streets, on his way from the court; and two others would have shared his fate, but for their absence from their place. Three days after the priest was sent to the flames.

Matters had now come to a crisis. The Protestant party, though but a small minority in the nation, had been strengthened of late by the accession of numbers from the higher ranks, and by the open countenance and support of Anthony of Bourbon, now king of Navarre, his brother the Prince of Condé, Admiral Coligny, of the noble family of Montmorency, and other persons of name and influence. The time had come when they felt themselves strong enough to throw off all disguise, and strike a blow which, if successful, should remove every obstacle that lay between themselves and the possession of that supreme authority at which they had long been aiming. Emboldened by promises of assistance from the Queen of England, the Huguenots determined to revolt; but they took *their measures* with all secrecy. A conspiracy was *formed to seize the* person of the young king, make away *with the two Guises*, and establish Protestantism as

sole dominant religion in France. A conference was held at Poissy of the Protestant divines of Germany and France, in which it was decided that the plot was a good and a righteous one. The King of Navarre kept aloof; but his brother, the Prince of Condé, though he took no open part in the enterprise, privately encouraged it with all the means at his disposal, and held himself ready to take the command of the insurgents if the attempt were successful. This was the conspiracy of Amboise, so called from the fortress-palace at which the king was residing. The time fixed for the outbreak was the 15th of March, 1560; but ere the day arrived, the whole plot was betrayed to the Guises, and the conspirators were caught in their own snares. Many were slain with arms in their hands; many were hanged from the windows and battlements of the fortress; the rest received a free pardon, on condition of retiring peaceably to their homes. But the attempt being almost immediately renewed, the pardon was recalled; and great numbers, among whom, doubtless, were many innocent persons, perished in the slaughter that ensued.

With this act of treason, and not of treason only, but of treachery also,—with this attempted massacre, in short, —the civil war may be said to have begun. But the Protestants had made a false start; the surprise they intended for their enemies had turned to their own confusion; they were forced, therefore, to dissemble for a time, and to resort to political intrigues instead of warlike manœuvres. Of course, severer measures than ever were taken against the propagators of the new opinions. If hitherto there were those who imagined that the newly-imported heresy was but a speculative error, noxious indeed, and opposed to the best interests of society, but still innocent of all direct intention of subverting the constitution, there was no longer any doubt about the matter. Protestantism was revolution,—that was plain: to tolerate it, was to consent to harbour *in the very* heart of France a spirit which would not *cease working* and penetrating till it had corroded and *undermined the* very foundations, not only of the throne, *ut of the whole* established order of things. So reasoned

the high Catholic party; but a majority of the nobles were for conciliation, and the penal laws were suspended. Just at this crisis Condé is detected in a correspondence with the rebels, and is found guilty of high treason. But Francis dies of a sudden illness, and is succeeded by his brother Charles IX., a boy only ten years of age. His mother, Catherine of Medicis, a wily, vindictive, and unprincipled woman, fond of intrigue and ambitious of rule, takes advantage of the state of parties to seize the reins of government; and as a counterbalance to the influence of the house of Guise, lavishes offices and honours with no equal hand on the Protestant leaders. She liberates Condé, makes the King of Navarre lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and elevates other Calvinistic lords to places of trust about the court.

The Protestants take courage, assemble publicly in their conventicles, and, not content with this, take forcible possession in several places of the Catholic churches. Nay to such a pitch had their audacity grown, that in Paris itself, when the people were assembling for Vespers in one of the churches, they sent to demand the silencing of the bells, because the sound, they said, prevented their hearing their preachers; and on the Catholics refusing the application, one of the party drew his sword to enforce compliance. The unhappy man paid for the insult with his life; but the Huguenots rushed in a body to the spot, the doors were driven in, and many Catholics fell victims to their fury. In the south of France, and indeed wherever the Protestants were in the majority, the worst excesses were committed. In Languedoc the churches were every where despoiled, the images thrown down, all the ornaments of the buildings demolished, the sacerdotal vestments torn to rags, the consecrated vessels, the relics of saints, in short, every thing most holy in the popular belief, dragged through the streets, broken and scattered to the winds; while the wretched fanatics, like the Albigenses,* or their atheistic successors in the revolution of the last century, *danced around* the ruins, singing profane songs, and *uttering the most insulting* cries against the Catholics. In

* See No. 57 of this series.

towns where they were strong enough, they forbade the exercise of the ancient religion; they tore helpless nuns from their convents, compelled them to be present at their heretical meetings, and violated their chastity by forced and pretended marriages. Such was Protestant toleration, Protestant liberty of conscience, Protestant piety and charity, when first this odious heresy appeared in Catholic France.

Still the queen-mother persisted in favouring the Huguenot party. A royal edict was issued, which prohibited them indeed from assembling in cities and towns, for fear of a breach of the peace, but allowed them to meet together in country places; and put their conventicles under the protection of the law. They were at the same time ordered to surrender to the Catholics the churches they had seized, to repair such as they had mutilated, and to restore to the clergy their possessions; to abstain in their public discourses from all blasphemies against the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and other mysteries of the faith, and from all sacrilegious profanations, the commission of which was to be punished with death. This was a virtual repeal of the penal laws, and a change in their condition such as the persecuted Catholics of England, who were beginning at this very time to groan under the iron yoke of their Protestant queen,* would have hailed with gratitude as a restoration of their religious liberties. The queen and her advisers fancied they had solved the difficult problem, and averted the horrors of civil war. Little did they understand the imperious spirit of Protestantism, which would be satisfied with nothing short of the utter suppression of the Catholic religion, and absolute political domination over its professors.

The people of France were more keenly alive to the real dispositions of the new religionists than were the nobles and the highest classes. Their religious instincts were more acute; and besides, they had had more practical experience *of what* "reformation" meant in the mouths of *its promoters.* To them the royal edict was extremely *unpalatable,* and most of the provincial parliaments re-

* See Nos. 45, 49, and 54 of this series.

fused to ratify it as it stood. One clause therein prohibited the sectaries from attending their assemblies with weapons in their hands; and in spite of the late outrages, a general order was also given for the disarming of the whole Catholic population in town and country. The Huguenots, trusting to their favour at court and the powerful protection of their leaders, paid no heed to the prohibition, and Condé himself appeared at the preachings in Paris attended by 1500 men-at-arms.

Amidst so much to provoke and exasperate on both sides, collision was inevitable: *when* it should take place hung but on an accident; nor was that accident long delayed. It was on Ash-Wednesday in the year 1562, that the Duke of Guise was passing through Vassy, on his way to Paris. He stops to hear Mass in this town; the Huguenots are also assembled close by, and the sound of their psalm-singing reaches the ears of his followers. So many different accounts are given of the affair, that who were the aggressors it is quite impossible to say. Suffice it, therefore, to relate that a conflict ensues; the duke rushes to stop the affray, when, on approaching the building where the Protestants are assembled, he is struck with a stone on the face; his men, seeing the blood flowing from his cheek, are seized with fury, and fall upon their adversaries sword in hand. In vain does the duke interpose to stay the slaughter; neither threat nor entreaty is of avail; and sixty Huguenots perish in the tumult. The historian De Thou, whose leanings are all on the side of the latter, and La Poplinière, himself a Protestant, both declare in their annals of these times that the encounter was purely accidental, and had happened altogether against the will and intention of the Duke of Guise. The same declaration was also made by the duke himself as he lay upon his deathbed.

But, as a matter of course, the Protestant party interpret the event differently, exclaim against it as a meditated design, and make it their pretext for an immediate resort to arms. Another surprise is attempted similar to that of Amboise two years before. On Easter Sunday 1562, the Prince of Condé, at the head of the Huguenot forces, set out on his march to Fontainbleau to seize the person of

king. He arrives too late. His brother, Anthony of Bourbon, King of Navarre, who, long undecided, had at length, when the designs of the Protestant party disclosed themselves, joined the Catholics and royalists, forewarned of the plot, had that very day removed the king to Paris. Condé, thus foiled, surprises the city of Orleans, and the civil war has fairly begun. All over France the Protestants assemble themselves, and fourteen different armies take the field.

It does not fall within my province to detail the conduct of the war, the enormities perpetrated by the Huguenots, and the terrible reprisals with which the Catholics revenged themselves. In vain the queen-mother, who wished to hold the balance between the parties, negotiated and contrived conference after conference between the chiefs on either side: Condé and the Huguenots kept no faith with their opponents; and sought only, by delay and pretext, to take them at a disadvantage. The war proceeded with the greatest fury. The most horrible cruelties were committed by the Protestants: France was delivered up to massacre and pillage; women, children, old men, were slaughtered without pity, frightfully mutilated, crushed, and tortured to death: priests, monks, and magistrates were the chief objects of attack; not content with murdering them in cold blood, the barbarians exercised upon them, and even upon their dead bodies, all the refinements of brutality which their malice could invent. It is necessary to insist much on these facts, for Protestant writers take little or no notice of them. It was the "reign of terror" forestalled.

The rage of the heretics had in it something truly diabolical. It seemed as if the devils from hell were let loose upon the earth to vent their impure and impious hate against the Church of Jesus Christ. Jesus the Crucified, His Virgin Mother, and His Saints, Jesus in His Sacrament of love,—against these their special fury was directed. The very sight of a crucifix, or of an image of our dear Lady, seemed to goad them to madness; with curses and blasphemies and obscenities they defiled and destroyed every thing most sacred and most dear to a faithful people. The same scene was enacted every where. It would be but to repeat the same revolting tale a thousand

times over, were I to describe their horrible impieties. It is not to be denied that the Catholics, infuriated as they were by such atrocities, were at times guilty of cruelties hardly less shocking than those which were practised by their enemies; but it is matter of history that the Protestants led the way in this abominable warfare, and that they seemed to do their utmost, as well by their sacrilegious profanations as by their wholesale butcheries, to provoke the Catholic population beyond endurance. I am not at all concerned to defend the conduct of the Catholics in this matter. Catholic soldiers and Catholic mobs, like all soldiers and all mobs when their passions are let loose, have been guilty of horrid crimes; nor do I seek for a moment to defend or excuse them: all I wish you to see is, what sort of people these "poor Protestants" were, on whom so much pity has been expended in later times, and who, it is wished to make you believe, were just such quiet respectable persons as now form the bulk of a Protestant population in this or other countries; and that all they wanted was liberty of conscience, and leave to enjoy their religion in peace, without molestation to their neighbours.

You have already heard enough to be aware that history tells a very different tale; and I have more to say to you of the same kind. At Valence, the renegade nobles, having seized the commandant of the king, forthwith hung him from the windows of his own mansion, and chose the Baron des Adrets for their chief. This man has made himself notorious in the annals of the time for his monstrous cruelties. In July 1562 he took the town of Montbrison by assault, and amused himself after dinner by making his prisoners leap one by one from the battlements of the fortress down upon the pikes of his soldiers, whom he had stationed below to receive them as they fell. Cruel, however, as he was, he seems to have retained some spark of natural generosity; for it is related that, one of his intended victims having twice attempted to take the leap, and as often failed for want of courage, the baron said to him, "You find it a hardish task, my friend;" to which *the man replied*, "I'll give you ten runs, my lord;" whereupon *the miscreant* laughed, and granted him his life.

The war went on. Condé had applied for assistance to Elizabeth of England and the Lutherans of Germany; in October 1562 he delivered up Calais to the former, and prepared to do the same with the important town of Rouen in Normandy. He is too late; Rouen is besieged by the royal forces under the command of the King of Navarre, who receives his death-wound in the assault. The Duke of Guise succeeds him, and carries the town. Two anecdotes are told of this great man, which show the genuine nobleness of his nature. A Huguenot gentleman attempts to stab him with a poniard, and is taken in the act. He declares in self-excuse, that he had acted not from any motive of personal revenge, but solely with a view to the interests of his religion. "Well," said the prince, "I will show you that my religion is a more generous one than yours. You say your religion bids you kill me, who have done you no harm; now mine commands me to pardon you, who have sought my life;" and so saying, he sent him away unhurt. Soon afterwards took place the battle of Dreux, at which the royalists were on the point of being defeated with great loss, when the Duke of Guise retrieves the fight, and gains a complete victory. Condé is taken prisoner. This Protestant leader had taken delight in representing his adversary's character, public and private, in the blackest colours. The duke invites him to his table, places a repast before him, and shares with him the only bed which his tent afforded. The two antagonists lie down side by side; and the story goes, that while the duke soon sank into a sound repose, the Prince of Condé could not close an eye.

Was it a guilty conscience that prevented him from sleeping? Certain it is that the generosity of the duke made no impression on his Huguenot enemies. Exactly two months afterwards, at the siege of Orleans, this great prince is assassinated by John Poltrot, a young Huguenot. Pretending to have deserted his party, the assassin obtained the prince's confidence, and chose his time when they were *alone together* to strike him from behind in the dusk of *the evening. He* rode off immediately; but losing his way *night, is taken* prisoner as the day breaks. Being

interrogated before the queen-mother and a number of the nobles, he declares that he was instigated to the crime by the Admiral Coligny; that once he had been touched with remorse, and had abandoned his design, when Beza, a noted Protestant reformer, and a translator of the New Testament, had convinced him of the lawfulness of the deed. In some particulars his statements varied; but in this he remained steadfast to his dying breath, that Coligny was privy to the deed. Sismondi, the Protestant historian, and a virulent enemy of the Church, admits as much of one whom nevertheless he styles "a great man, and as virtuous and religious as any France possessed;" and tries to account for such an anomaly in a character otherwise, as he thinks, so "excellent," by the principles and maxims of the age. Even Coligny himself, in his formal self-exculpation, does not deny that he was aware of Poltrot's intention; and it is certain that he had supplied him with money, and showed no horror at his success. As for Beza, the same writer is forced to allow—for it stands on record against him—that he justified the act by Scripture instances, and threatened the same or a worse fate to all who opposed what he called the Gospel of Christ.

The death of Guise was an irreparable loss to the royalists, who were now without a head; and on the 19th of March, 1563, a pacification is concluded, by which the Protestant nobles are allowed to open conventicles on their own domains, and in all the towns which remained in their hands at the date of the peace, where also their adherents were to be left unmolested to practise the new religion as they pleased. Besides which, throughout the country particular localities were assigned, where they might build their churches and hold their meetings under the protection of the law. Contrast all this with what was passing in England at this time! But then the Catholics of this country had not risen against the queen and government, nor terrified their Protestant persecutors with violence and bloodshed; they had simply succumbed, and were therefore trodden under foot. The Huguenots, however, and especially their preachers, were not satisfied; nothing but complete ascendency would satisfy them:

seize the property of the Church to pay their German troops; they attempt to surprise Havre and deliver it up to the English. D'Andelot, brother of Coligny, suborns an assassin to murder Jacques Prevot, a captain of the royal guards. Another of his brothers, Cardinal of Châtillon and Bishop of Beauvais, turns heretic, and has himself married publicly in the robes of his cardinalate: from the dignity itself he had been degraded by the Pope. The young king, who had just been declared of full age, obliges him to resign his bishopric; but lets him keep all he cared for, the revenues of the see.

In 1567, the Huguenots, always restless and fearful, encouraged by events in Scotland, where their brethren of the Reformation had successfully rebelled against their queen, determine to resume the war. Coligny, if he does not propose, at least consents to another surprise, and prepares to seize the king and the queen-mother at the château of Monceau. The court takes the alarm, and with such troops as could be collected sets out for Paris; midway they are intercepted by the insurgents, but succeed in conveying the king in safety within the walls. Meanwhile, in the south of France, that hotbed of heresy and sedition, the Huguenots are carrying all before them. Every where they are pillaging and destroying churches and convents, maltreating and murdering priests and religious, with all the usual atrocities. At Nîmes, after storming and sacking the bishop's palace, they collect their prisoners by night into one of the courts, massacre them all to the number of seventy-two, and then throw their bodies into the wells. At Alais they murdered seven of the canons attached to the church, two friars, and several other ecclesiastics. De Thou, whose testimony cannot be suspected, asserts that in the little town of Sully they cut the throats of thirty-six priests, and threw many others into the river Loire; and the Cardinal of Lorraine declared at the Council of Trent, that in three or four months the Huguenots had massacred nearly 3000 religious. Such was their summary mode of exterminating Popery!

At the battle of St. Denis the rebels are defeated; but, inforced by troops from Protestant Germany, they again

approach the capital, and oblige the court to come to terms. This false peace lasted scarcely six months. On the one hand, the Catholic populace rise and attack the Huguenots in different parts of the country; and on the other, the Huguenots in several places refuse to give up the towns in their possession, and shut their gates against the officers of the king; they publish libels against the government, and keep up a spirit of disaffection among their followers. The court, seeing war to be imminent, endeavours to detain Condé and Coligny; but they escape to La Rochelle, where they are joined by Jeanne d'Albret, daughter of Margaret of Valois and queen of Navarre, a bitter enemy of the Catholics, and her young son Henry, afterwards Henry IV. of France. Charles IX. repeals the edict of toleration, and the war breaks out afresh. The same cruelties are again enacted; and on the confession of Sismondi himself, the Protestants abuse all the rights of war: at Melle and at Fontenay, where the inhabitants had surrendered at discretion, the ferocious soldiery put them all to the sword, though Coligny and his brother humanely endeavoured to stay the slaughter.

Condé's career was now drawing to a close: at the battle of Jarnac, in March 1569, the rebels are worsted, and Condé is slain. Many others of note had fallen, and the Admiral Coligny became the leader of the Huguenot party. The parliament of Paris impeach and condemn him as a traitor to his king and country, and set a price on his head. He retires into Languedoc, which he ravages with fire and sword; then, as his army swells, he marches to Orleans, signalising every step of his progress with blood and rapine. At the battle of Moncontour his troops are defeated, and himself wounded; 10,000 of his men remain on the field of battle. But the power of the party is not crushed; Coligny suddenly appears again on the scene, and prepares to lay siege to Paris. The court is alarmed, and peace is a third time concluded, on terms which accorded to the Protestants the free exercise of their religion *to an extent* which surpassed even their own ex*pectations.*

I have now brought my narrative down to two y

of the time at which the frightful catastrophe occurred which is the immediate subject of this Tract. It was necessary to put you in possession of the exact state of parties, and of the character of those who were engaged on either side, in order that you might be better capable of judging fairly of an event which has been made the theme of the most violent denunciations against the Catholic Church and the Pope.

In the first place, it is commonly said that the massacre had long been premeditated on the part of the Catholics. The great English Protestant tradition is bold, and strong, and broad on the subject; it does not mince the matter in the least; it has not a doubt in the world, that the horrible deed was planned and matured as good as *seven* long years before. Why, every body knows, or ought to know, that "a meeting was concerted at Bayonne between Charles and his sister, the Queen of Spain. Catherine accompanied her son; the Duke of Alva attended his mistress. Festivities and gaieties of every kind occupied each day. All apparently respired joy and peace; but a tempest was secretly brewing in the summer sky. A 'holy league' was formed (A.D. 1565) between the courts of France and Spain: the glory of God was to be promoted; heresy in the dominions of both was to be extirpated." So writes Mr. Keightley in his *Outlines of History;* and the "treachery" thus "long meditated," he declares to have been consummated in "the bloody and indiscriminate massacre of the Protestants" on the 24th of August, 1572. This is the dominant tradition; and every thorough-going Protestant repeats the story to the letter, with what regard to historical certainty you shall yourselves be the judges. Mr. Keightley's volume appeared in Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopædia* in the year 1830: in the following year came out the third volume of Sir James Mackintosh's *History of England,* continued from his papers by another hand; and *it is amusing* to observe that the writer, while maintaining *that the massacre* was undoubtedly premeditated, distinctly *rejects the statement* made by his brother cyclopædist (his *elder but by one* year), as to the length of time that intervened *between* the formation of the plot and its execution.

He will not allow that the massacre was concerted even *two* years beforehand, that is, five years after the interview at Bayonne, which Mr. Keightley circumstantially asserts to be the occasion on which the plot was arranged! But the process of reduction does not stop here. Sir James Stephen, who, for all his affected liberality, deals out but a hard measure of justice wherever Catholics are concerned (as I shall presently show), favours a different view of the matter. As to the massacre having been determined on two whole years before, he considers there is no ground whatever for any such supposition; though he is of opinion that certain circumstances "may indicate" (*may* indicate, he cannot speak positively) "that Catherine cherished an insidious design against the Protestants during *some weeks* before the actual perpetration." Thus, you observe, the premeditation of seven long years has, by the manipulation of this triad of historians, dwindled down to a design of "some weeks" formation: from all which this at least is sufficiently apparent, that nothing as yet has been conclusively ascertained concerning the origin of the massacre; and certainly it is very far from having been positively demonstrated that the deed was a piece of "Popish treachery," as the popular Protestant tradition so stoutly asserts.

And what if there were no plot after all, and the massacre were the result, not of policy and premeditation, but of a sudden popular rising? This is the position taken up by M. Prosper Mérimée, a writer any thing but friendly to the Church. In the preface to a little work lately published he says, that he had just been reading a large number of memoirs and pamphlets relating to the time, and that his "firm conviction" is, that "this great massacre was the consequence of a popular insurrection, which could not have been foreseen, and which was altogether extemporaneous and unpremeditated." So much for the value and the veracity of this great Protestant tradition,—a tradition (I may observe, by the way) still perpetuated in Murray's *Handbook for France*, where it is sagely remarked (p. 271 *edit. of 1853*), that at the castle of Bayonne, "it is n

known, the massacre of the St. Bartholomew's night was suggested and decided on!"

Ranke, the historian, in his recent work on the *Civil Wars in France*, though he inclines to the opinion that a proposal was made at Bayonne by some Catholic nobles for assassinating certain chiefs of the Huguenot faction, declares it to be "a great error to believe that either the young king or the queen-mother was a party to their designs, or that the plan, as concerted, was to be executed by them," or had any thing to say to the massacre. As to that event itself, he is far from thinking that Catherine had been for years preparing for the catastrophe; but he considers that she was the instigator of it, and that the crime may justly be laid at her door. One of the two views he propounds agrees in substance with the account I am about to give.

I have said, there was peace between the Catholics and the Huguenots; but there was no reconciliation. Men's minds had been so excited, that they could not quiet them at pleasure. Each party was in dread or suspicion of the other; each felt that the other was but waiting its opportunity to strike at its adversary unawares. Meanwhile, on the surface all looked calm and fair. The court was occupied with shows and feastings; there was nothing but marrying and giving in marriage: among the rest, the young King of Navarre was to wed the sister of the king; and all the Protestant leaders went up to Paris to be present at the celebration, which, in condescension to their prejudices, took place in a temporary building adjoining the cathedral. On the 22d of August, Coligny was shot at and dangerously wounded while riding through the streets of Paris. The shot plainly proceeded from a house occupied by an adherent of the Duke of Guise; but ere search could be made, the assassin had escaped. That the queen-mother was privy to the attempt, there is but little *doubt: whether* Charles was previously made acquainted *with it, is not* equally certain. From documents* which

* *See* Lingard's note to his *History of England*, vol. viii. edit. 1844, p. 420, &c.

have recently come to light, it would appear that he was purposely kept in the dark, and that the crime was the result of Catherine's jealousy of the admiral. She dreaded the increasing ascendency which the latter was gaining over the mind of her son,—an ascendency which gave him in a manner the government of the kingdom,—and determined to remove him out of the way. When, however, she found that he did not die of his wound; when, too, a large body of his friends paraded the streets, and appeared in arms before the palace, denouncing vengeance on his murderers, and would not be put off by the attempts that were made to impute the act of treachery to private resentment or foreign machinations,—filled with consternation, she resolved to secure herself, and forestal another insurrection, by ordering a general massacre of the whole Huguenot body in the capital. Gathering, therefore, her partisans about her, and going at once to Charles's cabinet, she urged him in the most passionate terms to strike while he had his enemies in his power; that he was surrounded by traitors, his life was in danger, a plot was preparing; he must slay or be slain. For some time Charles would not yield; but unhappily there was in him no principle of virtue or honour, or indeed of common humanity, to resist the iniquitous suggestion. Catherine insisted, plied him with scorn and entreaty, threatened to fly from the court and leave him to his fate; at last she taunted him with cowardice: this Charles could not brook; treacherous and cruel in his disposition, he united in his own person an extraordinary power of dissimulation with great natural impetuosity; irritated, therefore, to fury by his mother's taunts and representations, he gave his consent to her proposal, and measures were immediately taken for its execution.

Late that evening Charron, Prévôt des Marchands, and Marcel, his predecessor in office, were secretly summoned to the palace. Marcel was asked, supposing the king, in an emergency, required the aid of the populace of Paris, upon *how many* could he reckon? Marcel answered, *that that would depend* on the time allowed him for assembling them; that in a month he could have 100,000 me

ready. But how many in a week? He named a proportionate number. And this very night, how many? He thought 20,000, or perhaps more. These inquiries were made, not so much because any lack of agents was apprehended, but from fear of an armed resistance. Charron was charged to summon the citizens to arms in their several quarters, and to close the gates.

Such appears to be the more trustworthy account; but the question is one of the most intricate description; nor does it seem possible at this interval of time, and with the existing historical data, to arrive at any thing more than a probable conclusion. Neither is it a matter of any consequence, so far as my purpose is concerned; let the plot have been premeditated for years, let the king and the Catholic nobles have been as guilty as Catherine herself, this is nothing to the point which I seek to establish. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew was a great crime; but it was the crime of individuals, not of the Church of which they were the worthless members, and a woeful scandal to the religion which they professed. I would not extenuate its wickedness by a single plea, whether of previous provocation, or sudden alarm, surprise, and absence of design: it was a horrible sin, which cried to Heaven for vengeance on its perpetrators. All through that fearful night the work of blood proceeded: Coligny was murdered among the first, his body thrown from the window, and dragged with insults through the streets. A frightful carnage ensued; hundreds were massacred in their beds, or shot on the roofs of the houses, or pursued from street to street and slain: no avenues were left open for escape, no mercy was shown; the infuriated populace glutted their vengeance, without distinction of sex or age. Numbers of Catholics perished in the slaughter, the victims of private hatred and revenge. "The memoirs of the time describe the savage yells of the murderers, the agonised cries of the victims, the crashing of forced doors, the dull echo of human bodies flung from the windows or fallen from house-tops on the pavement below, as a horrid concert, the like of which was never heard." When the sun rose on the morning of the 24th, Paris was like one great slaughter-

house: the streets of the city, and the very court and apartments of the palace, were choked with dead bodies, or covered with streams of gore. Assassinations went on for several days; and similar scenes were enacted in some of the provincial towns, especially where the Protestants had perpetrated the greatest excesses. On the whole, it was computed by a Protestant writer, who compiled what he called a "Martyrology of the Huguenots" ten years after the event, that above 15,000 persons were thus barbarously murdered; of whom, however, he could give the names of only 786.

And this monstrous crime, this horrible deed of blood, exclaims the thorough-going Protestant, was sanctioned and approved by the Court of Rome; nay it was exulted in, gloried in, made the subject of public rejoicings, and of impious thanksgivings to the great God of Heaven! No sooner did the tidings of the massacre reach Rome, than the Pope ordered a solemn 'Te Deum' to be sung in the church of St. Mark, a jubilee to be proclaimed, a salvo to be fired from the castle of St. Angelo, the city to be illuminated, and a medal to be struck in commemoration of the event! Listen, for instance, to no less a personage than Sir James Stephen, Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, speaking with all the solemnity and responsibility of his high position: "It is for the credit of us all not to exaggerate the darkness of a crime which has left so foul and indelible a disgrace upon our common nature. For horrible as was the act itself, the subsequent celebration of it was even yet more revolting. Pope Gregory XIII. and his cardinals went in procession to the church of St. Mark, not to deprecate in sackcloth and ashes the Divine vengeance on a guilty people, but to 'render solemn thanksgiving to God, the infinitely great and good (such is the contemporary record), for the great mercy which He had vouchsafed to the See of Rome and to the whole Christian world.' A picture of the massacre was added to the embellishments of the Vatican; and, by the Pontiff's order, a golden medal was struck to commemorate *to all ages the* triumph of the Church over her enemies."

True; a 'Te Deum' was sung, a jubilee was pr

claimed, a salvo was fired, the city was illuminated, a medal was struck; but for what? The explanation is simple enough.

On the evening of the 24th, Charles IX. had it proclaimed through the metropolis that the massacre was the work of the Guises; and that, so far from countenancing the deed, he should strenuously unite with the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé in avenging the death of his "cousin the admiral." The Guises, however, who had received express orders from the king for the part they had performed, were not at all disposed to be made the scapegoats on the occasion, and refused to let the odium of the affair be thrown on them. Charles then was driven to adopt some other plea; and on the 26th he boldly, and indeed boastingly, declared, in full parliament, that what had been done had been done at his command; and took credit to himself for having, by his prompt and decisive measures, defeated a murderous conspiracy, which had for its object the massacre of himself and the whole royal family, the entire revolution of the kingdom, and the extermination of the national faith. The parliament congratulated their young monarch on his happy deliverance from so great a peril, and the president delivered an elaborate panegyric on the sagacity and skill he had manifested in so desperate an emergency. An inquiry was forthwith instituted into the circumstances; several prosecutions followed, in which the accused suffered death for their part in the supposed conspiracy; there was a solemn procession in the streets of Paris, headed by the king in person; and medals were struck for the everlasting remembrance of the thing. These last facts are incontestable: whether the massacre was premeditated or not; who were the real authors of the plot, if plot there were, or who were the agents in it; whether Coligny was shot at by the queen-mother's orders, with or without the king's consent, or whether the attempted assassination was *the work of the* Duke of Guise alone; whether even (as *Mérimée supposes*) the massacre itself was his doing, and *was taken up by* the king as an after-thought, when he *found the populace* in its favour,—on all these questio

there may be, as there have hitherto been, interminable discussions, and no certain conclusion may ever be established; but that the declaration I have given was made by the king, and accepted by the parliament, there can be, and indeed is, no doubt whatever.

Now this account it was which was formally embodied in the notification dispatched by the king to Rome and all the courts of Europe. On the 26th of September, Pope Gregory XIII., whose election to the pontificate had just taken place, was officially informed that the king and royal family of France had escaped a horrible conspiracy, and that its authors had been condignly punished. From the discourse pronounced on the occasion by the envoy extraordinary, it appears that not a word was said of the indiscriminate slaughter that had taken place. On the contrary, it was announced, in a rhetorical way, that on that "memorable night, by the destruction of a few seditious men, the king had been delivered from immediate danger of death, and the realm from the perpetual terror of civil war." This it was for which the Court of Rome rejoiced and returned God thanks; not for a massacre, but for the detection and suppression of a bloody conspiracy: a legitimate and righteous cause of pious congratulation in the eyes of every reasonable man, and worthy certainly of the approbation of every member of the national establishment which instituted a solemn "form of thanksgiving to be used yearly upon the fifth day of November, for the happy deliverance of King James I. and the Three Estates of England from the most traitorous and bloody-intended massacre by gunpowder;" and the bells of whose churches to this very day, sullenly silent as they are when Holy Church is celebrating the glorious triumphs of the world's Redeemer, ring out their merriest peals in honour of the great festivity. But more than this, all Catholic Christendom might well rejoice at the defeat and ruin of the Huguenot faction, and the solid peace which, it was hoped, would result therefrom to France. Who could be *unmindful* of the frightful wars with which *that fair country had so* long been devastated: the plots, *he surprises, the bloody* massacres, and, above all, the

shocking profanities of which the Huguenots had been guilty; and, on the other hand, the cruel reprisals and other scandalous crimes, almost inseparable from warfare, to which the Catholics had been driven; the injury done to religion, and the utter demoralisation of the people by the constant scenes of violence amidst which they lived, or in which they were forced to take a part? Well, then, might the Court of Rome and the whole Church rejoice at the termination of evils and disasters such as these. And yet, amidst the universal exultation, there was one whose eyes were moist with tears, and whose heart refused to be comforted, and that was Gregory himself: "Alas!" he cried, "how can I be sure that many innocent souls have not suffered with the guilty!"

You will look in vain for any English Protestant historian who has had the generosity or the honesty to record these words. On the contrary, every Protestant writer I have come across, with very few exceptions, seems to go out of his way to stultify his own previous reasonings, in his endeavours to leave at least some suspicion of complicity on the Papal Court. Though at this very day, as they are forced to confess, the true facts of the case are involved in the greatest obscurity, and it is quite impossible to determine for certain whether it was a premeditated plot, or the result of a sudden popular insurrection—one thing they have quite made up their minds should be clear, and that is the Pope's participation, directly or indirectly, in the deed: either he advised it, or he was privy to it before it was executed, or he rejoiced over it when it was accomplished; yet not *one single fact* does any one of them adduce in support of so monstrous a charge. A single circumstance, which anyhow was capable of a very simple and obvious explanation, and the true account of which is patent on the face of history, is made the ground of an accusation at which, if true, common humanity stands appalled; and which, though again and again triumphantly *refuted, is believed*, and repeated, and still prevails in all *our popular* histories of the time. It is part of the great *Protestant tradition*, which must be perpetuated at any sacrifice of truth. Such is the force of prejudice and hatred;

such is the justice awarded where Catholics and their religion are concerned!

To the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, then, the Pope had nothing in the world to say; and in establishing this point I have fulfilled the one object which all along I had in view. The Church of France, as such, is equally innocent of any part or complicity therein. Even Sismondi admits that the Pope's nuncio at Paris was perfectly unconscious of what was going on; indeed, he contends that he was purposely kept in ignorance of the plot; though one would have thought that if the Pope were at the bottom of the business, he was just the man to be trusted with the secret. Another writer says that Catherine of Medicis was very jealous of the Pope's interference in her measures of policy, even as respected the Huguenots; and that the private dispatches of the nuncio indicate that "instead of sharing, he was ever labouring to penetrate the designs of the court" (*Cabinet Cyclopædia*). These very dispatches, moreover, which were written in cipher, and have only lately been discovered, prove, without doubt, that he knew no more about the matter than he could gather from common report. So even those writers maintain who are of opinion that the massacre was premeditated; for his dispatches go to show that it arose out of the unforeseen circumstances I have given above. Ranke, in his *History of the Civil Wars*, remarks that Catherine left Paris with her son to avoid meeting the Pope's legate, who arrived just after the massacre; a clear proof that she was afraid of the truth coming out, or, at any rate, was conscious that the affair, whatever the official account might be, would be any thing but favourably regarded by that functionary. As for the bishops and clergy of France, I am not aware that they have ever been definitely accused of being the instigators of the slaughter; so that I am not charged with their defence. It is matter of history, however, that in several places where the clergy had suffered most from the fanaticism of the heretics, they exerted themselves fearlessly in their defence. The Bishop of Lisieux, for instance, of the order of St. Dominic, succeeded in arresting the massacre which had begun in his diocese; and

Lyons the archbishop opened his palace as a refuge to more than 300 Calvinists, who were thus saved from the hands of their enemies.

In short, the undoubted facts of history—and, I may add, every new fact which is established—entirely acquit the Pope and the Church of France of all sort of connection with the massacre, whoever may have been its guilty contrivers. The accusation has not only no grounds, but no shadow of a ground to rest upon; and is the pure invention of a stupid and malignant bigotry, regardless alike of rational probability and of historical truth.

At the very least, this all must allow:—if Protestant writers of credit and research are of opinion that it is impossible to decide on existing data that the massacre itself was premeditated, and many most adverse to the Catholic side are "firmly convinced" that it was not,—it follows, of course, that the charge against the Pope rests on the same problematical ground; and thus the whole matter is removed from the region of wild and fierce invective into the peaceful fields of historical inquiry,—a change of position extremely embarrassing and vexatious to those who have a zeal in upholding the established traditions of this great Protestant country.

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RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

A QUESTION OF FIRST PRINCIPLES.

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Religious Toleration

A QUESTION OF FIRST PRINCIPLES.

Of all the vulgar charges brought against the Catholic Church, there is none, perhaps, which tells more powerfully on the popular mind than that of religious intolerance. Facts seem to be against us. It cannot be denied that Catholic governments (or, at least, such as are called Catholic) have persecuted. In old Catholic times heresy was an offence of which the law took cognisance; the teachers of heresy were sometimes committed to the flames; and what is more, the ecclesiastical authorities sanctioned the proceeding, and Catholic divines formally defended the principle of non-toleration. Thus De Castro, who (as I told you, No. 7. p. 17) publicly remonstrated against the wholesale character of the executions in Mary's reign, as "contrary to the spirit of the Gospel," maintained, in one of his theological treatises, the lawfulness of putting heretics to death. The subject, therefore, is one which cannot honestly be evaded by an apologist of the Catholic religion; much less can it safely be set aside, as a matter in which Catholics are not concerned, or of which no explanation is required.

To those who have read and carefully weighed the facts which have been brought forward in several numbers* of this series, two considerations in connection with the charge will readily present themselves.

In the first place, they will have learnt, that, even ad-

* No. 7, The Smithfield Fires. No. 45. How Elizabeth restored the Protestant Religion. No. 49. Why did the Pope excommunicate Queen Elizabeth? No. 54. The Golden Days of Good Queen Bess Nos. 40, 47. A Sketch of the Penal Laws. No. 57. The Albigenses No. 62. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

mitting to the full (which, except for argument's sake, we do not) the truth of the worst charges alleged against us by the most unscrupulous of our enemies, Protestants have themselves been guilty of equal enormities: Protestants have been persecutors, systematic persecutors; this is undeniable. The fact, indeed, is so patent, that the more candid Protestants are forward in admitting it; and even our bitterest assailants acknowledge the truth of the allegation, by never so much as attempting to disprove it. This is a point on which I would much insist. The champions of Protestantism never attempt to show that Catholics were tolerated by Protestants while they had the power to persecute, whether at the period of the Reformation or in later times; but, true to their name and calling, keep on *protesting* against "Romish tyranny and intolerance."

In the second place, they will have learnt that the men who were put to death for heresy were mostly such as in any age, and by any party in power, would have been punished as disturbers of the public peace, rebels against the temporal authority, traitors to their sovereign, and, in short, men whose violence and whose crimes deserved to be visited with all the vengeance of the law.

And yet, when all this has been admitted (and with many it would probably suffice for a practical settlement of the whole question), we are met with an objection like the following: "If Protestants," it is argued, "have been, and are still, as intolerant as Catholics, as this is no excuse for Protestants on the one hand, so it is no defence of Catholics on the other. Besides, when Protestants persecute, they do so in violation of their own professions; whereas the Catholic Church has sanctioned the principle of persecution, and to this principle she is deeply and inextricably committed."

As this is a position taken up by many who wish to deal fairly with Catholics, I have thought it well to put together a few remarks upon the subject; in doing which I shall redeem a promise I made in a former Number, of saying a *few words as* to the light in which heresy was regarded in *the "ages of faith."*

They who believe in revelation, and acknowledge the

divine authority of the Jewish law, cannot deny that religious intolerance—(I purposely use the obnoxious phrase)—was sanctioned, or rather enjoined, by God Himself. Offences against religion, revolts against the spiritual power, were punishable with death. The law of Moses knew nothing of "liberty of conscience" (as Protestants profess to use the term), at least in respect to its own subjects. It no more tolerated religious dissent or spiritual independence, than it did disobedience to parents or rebellion against the civil ruler. It is needless to prove this. The fact is plain on the face of holy Scripture,—as plain as that the people of Israel had a religion and a civil constitution; for the principle lies at the root of the whole system, and pervades its every part; and the infidel makes it one of his primary arguments against the divine character of the Mosaic dispensation. That dispensation, indeed, has passed away for ever,—the law of love has superseded that of fear; but with the Bible Christian, the believer in revelation, I would insist most strongly on this one fact: a *principle* sanctioned and enjoined by God Himself cannot be a *wrong* principle. It may not be always applicable, or always expedient, much less always obligatory in its fullest extent; but wrong *in itself* it cannot be, or the God of truth and holiness would never have given it the force of law. It is a great point gained to make people see and admit this; in fact, once concede the principle of what is called religious intolerance to be, abstractedly, not wrong, but right, and the question is narrowed to this very simple point,—whether, in particular instances, it was justly, mercifully, or expediently applied and enforced. It can no longer excite that moral disgust which men now feel at the bare mention of the thing; nor, I may add, will it be any longer available as a theme of anti-Popery declamation. If, before the Exeter-Hall orator commenced his fiery harangue, he would, with the same impressive manner wherewith he recites some garbled version of Papal bull or canon law, read out to his eager audience, for their first half-hour's meditation, such texts and whole passages from the Pentateuch and other portions of Holy Writ as I could name, I suspect that the effect of his after-eloquence would be very seriously dam-

in the popular estimation, and that his craft would soon entirely cease.

However, I am willing to descend from this high position, and meet our opponents on more open ground. I say, then, that the principle of intolerance is universally recognised; that not only have Protestants and infidels acted upon it, but that they still act, and must necessarily act, upon it; and that the main difference—I do not say the only difference—between them and Catholics in the matter is, as to what opinions and practices ought on the one hand to be tolerated and protected, and on the other to be proscribed and punished. Universal toleration is simply an impossibility; it never has been practised, and never can be. Let a government be ever so indulgent, there must be a point at which the law interferes to prevent certain opinions being published and acted upon. Every government recognises some first principle—at any rate, it is possessed with the instinct of self-preservation; and without coercion—in other words, without intolerance—no government could exist a day or an hour. Are men at liberty to denounce the rights of property, or to decry all government—that is, in fact, to preach sedition, anarchy, and universal confiscation? Yet these are questions on which there are those who have what they call their moral and religious convictions. Why are not these convictions to be respected? Or, again, are men at liberty to set at defiance all the laws of modesty and morality? Yet, on the theory of universal toleration, what right has a government to make its notions on these subjects obligatory on the people at large? Is it infallible in the matter of morals? On what principle, then, does it coerce the individual conscience by its arbitrary decrees, and even visit the violation of them with disabilities and penalties? With what consistency can you preach up universal toleration, and degrade and punish me for following my own moral sense of right and wrong? Will you say *that my* moral sense is a false and perverted one, and directly *opposed to the* commonest principles of morality, and to *the general interests* of humanity? Then, on your own *howing, the principle* of toleration—this boasted principle *hich is to establish* universal peace in the world—is also

opposed to the commonest principles of morality, and to the general interests of humanity. This is what I set out to show: the principle of toleration can be applied only in limited measure. Put the mark as low as you please, every government, however lax, however tolerant, recognises some first principles which are irreconcilable with, and antagonistic to, the principle of toleration. Let this idea once be grasped, and the whole question will be seen to rest on a broad and simple basis.

As a matter of fact, Protestant states, and states that are not Christian, punish offences not only against morality, but against religion. In this country, at this very day, there are punishments for certain forms of blasphemy and impiety; there are penalties for profaning the first day of the week, which, by the law of the land, is what Catholics call a "holiday of obligation;" there are statutes which invalidate bequests of money for "superstitious uses." Some sort of religious profession is necessary in order to enable a man's evidence to be received in a court of justice, and to put him under the protection of the law. A few years ago the open sale of avowedly infidel books would have been prevented, and their vendors punished with fine and imprisonment. We question whether, at the present day, the law would be allowed to take its course; but a short time ago, an Irishman was fined for publicly burning a copy of the Protestant Bible; which he did not from disrespect to the holy Scriptures, but out of an impetuous zeal for their genuineness and purity. I say nothing here of those remnants of the old penal legislation against Catholics which still exist, nor of the revival, at the present day, of the spirit of hostility which dictated it: how, for example, they are not allowed to bury their dead with their own rites—nor to perform any religious solemnity—in public; nor their priests to wear their ecclesiastical habits, nor their bishops to take their diocesan titles. I say nothing of social and domestic persecution, the instances of which are innumerable, nor of the inequalities from which Catholics suffer, in all that concerns religion, in every department of the public service; *the facts* I have mentioned are quite sufficient to *prove that even* this Protestant country recognises and a

upon the principle of religious intolerance, however exceptional (apparently) may be its application in practice. Indisputable it is that certain opinions, certain acts and uses relating to religion, are prohibited and visited with penalties—punished, in short—even in this land of religious freedom. There are certain matters connected with religion and morality in which the law knows nothing of private judgment or liberty of conscience. Of course it must be so, as I have said. Every government recognising *any* first principles, whether in morality or in religion,—every government proceeding on the supposition, if not on the belief, that certain doctrines are absolutely true, or at least expedient to be observed as true, and therefore made obligatory on society at large,—is, and must be, intolerant towards those who reject and oppose them; nay, in a measure, towards those who do not profess and practise them. It must interfere with people's freedom of thought and action—that is to say, with the freedom of expressing their thoughts, and putting them into execution; and truth, reason, justice, policy alone can determine when and how far that interference is necessary, or equitable, or expedient, in particular instances. Toleration, after all, is but a question of what shall be tolerated, and how far it shall be tolerated. Governments punish religious offences—or, to use the popular language, persecute—according to what they regard as first principles. Take, for instance, the law of marriage. It is a first principle with all Christian governments that a man can have but one wife. Bigamy, therefore, is punished as well by Protestants as by Catholics; adultery likewise, as being an offence against morality, or at least opposed to the true interests of the family (which is the basis on which society reposes), is amenable to the law, and visited with pecuniary penalties; and in Protestant countries it is deemed sufficient justification for the dissolution of the marriage-tie. Not so, however, among Catholic populations, where the matrimonial bond is, in *accordance* with the divine precept, pronounced to be *indissoluble*. So, again, in Protestant countries, religious *vows, however* solemnly made, and ratified by ecclesiastical *uthority,* are held to be not binding; so that the marriage

of a priest or a religious is as valid and as "honourable" as any other in the eye of the law, though before the Catholic Church it is no marriage at all, but, on the contrary, a sacrilegious concubinage, and an offence of the same class as is adultery or bigamy. Here, then, we have a difference in first principles. Protestant states punish for bigamy, but dispense from the marriage-vow, and allow of divorce and re-marriage—discountenance adultery, but sanction and approve the breaking of vows of religion; whereas Catholic states maintain the absolute indissolubility of marriage when validly contracted, and the obligatory force of religious vows (except when dispensed by the ecclesiastical authority); and consequently punish the violation of both one and the other with such penalties as the law in each particular country may provide; so that, should a monk or a nun, the subject of a Catholic power, while sojourning in England, contract what in the eye of the English law was a valid and sufficient marriage, and return to their own country, that contract would be no contract at all: their religious vows would still be as binding upon them as ever; and they might be punished for sacrilege, just as if in a Protestant country they had committed the offence of bigamy. So, also, a person who, under similar circumstances, should put away his wife, and take to himself another woman, would, in the eye of the Church, and of Catholic law, simply be living in adultery. His marriage would be no marriage at all, but a disgraceful concubinage —a crime against God and society, a mortal sin; and he might be liable to punishment for profaning the sanctity of the marriage-tie.

Of course, to the Protestant this appears very hard and intolerant, and he cries out against the superstition and the slavery of so antiquated a system; but what would he say to the Turk, who should disclaim with equal vehemence, as he might as reasonably do, against the laws of this Protestant country? If it is intolerant in the Catholic to prohibit divorce, and punish the violation of the vow of celibacy, why is it not intolerant in the Protestant to make the *marriage-bond* indissoluble (except in one particular case) *to allow but one* wife at a time, and to punish for bigamy

that is, for the violation of the vow of matrimony? "On what *principle*," he might ask, "do you boast of your religious freedom, and sneer at the Catholic for his narrowness and bigotry? We truly are the enlightened people. We know nothing of laws against divorce, or punishments for bigamy or trigamy either; we have as many wives as we will, and allow no interference in the matter." But the argument will carry us further than the Turk. Free as the Mahometan may be in this matter of marriage, there is a people whose habits of life are, if fame does them no wrong, still more unshackled—a people who are migrating in hundreds from their native land, to seek on a foreign shore the more perfect liberty which is denied them at home. The Mormonites, it is said, are more than polygamists—more heathenish than the heathen. They live as do the beasts; and adultery and promiscuous concubinage are to them the habitual and the honourable conditions of domestic relationship. Well: as the Mormonite and the Mahometan are to the Protestant in this matter, so is the Protestant to the Catholic. The Catholic is stricter and more intolerant than the Protestant, because his first principles are stricter and more intolerant—that is to say, higher and holier—more purely moral and more truly religious; in other words, more Christian. The Protestant, again, who in the matter of marriage has retained a portion of the old Catholic belief, is stricter and more intolerant than the Mormonite or the Mahometan, because his first principles are stricter and more intolerant.

If I were asked to give a definition, or to state one of the main characteristics of bigotry, I should say that it was the condemning a man for acting on his own first principles instead of those we ourselves avow; the expecting him to believe one thing and to do another. Protestants, being Christians, punish the violation of such Christian laws as they hold to be binding on society, or which they consider necessary for the moral and social well-being of the commonwealth. In like manner, Catholics punish the violation *of such Christian* laws as *they* hold to be binding on society, *or which they* consider necessary for the moral and social *well-being of the* commonwealth. To the Protestant poly-

gamy is an impiety, to the Mahometan it is not; so, to the Catholic the violation of the religious vow is an impiety, to the Protestant it is not. And so in other things. Catholics have punished, and still punish, where reason and justice so direct, what they believe to be impiety and blasphemy; not, of course, what Protestants consider impiety and blasphemy, for they have not the faith or the religious instincts of Catholics; and I say it is folly and bigotry, it is every thing that is narrow and stupid, to expect a Catholic to act on Protestant principles, as narrow and stupid as it would be to expect a Protestant to act on Mahometan principles. I say nothing here of the truth of the one set of principles or the other. All I assert is, that toleration is a relative thing; that intolerance, in some shape or other, is inseparable from every religion and every form of government; and that, as a matter of fact, Protestants punish (or persecute) outrages upon their own first principles, just as Catholics do the violations of theirs.

Now, the great Catholic first principle, which Protestants deny,—the denial of which, indeed, constitutes the very essence and first principle of Protestantism,—is, that the Church Catholic is the divine authoritative teacher of mankind in all that concerns religion; and that religion itself is a matter, not of opinion, but of faith. Catholics believe, in short, that what the Church teaches is the very truth of God; and that, like God Himself, that truth is one and one only—one and indivisible. This truth, this faith, is to them as certain, as indisputable, and, I may say, as habitually self-evident a thing as right and wrong are; or, in other words, as are those first principles of morality which Protestants happily still in a measure hold and enforce. Protestants, as I have said, prohibit and punish the violation of these principles of morality; and Catholics also prohibit, and under circumstances punish, the violation of the principles of faith. Catholics have a wide field of opinion, in which they are at liberty to range to and fro as they will; and so long as a man's opinions do not entrench on the *region of faith*, he enjoys as perfect liberty as even *a Protestant could* desire. But if he violates faith, he vio*lates Catholic* first principles; and if he lives in a pur-

Catholic country, and his offence is an open and scandalous one, he becomes as amenable to the laws, as does a Protestant who violates such Protestant first principles as are recognised and upheld by the laws of his country. The Catholic principle of faith, being something over and above the Protestant principle of morality and religion, creates, of course, an additional class of offences; just as the Protestant principle of morality and religion, being something over and above that of Mahometans and Buddhists, or other infidel races, creates an additional class of offences. To the Catholic, heresy is not an error of judgment merely (though it may be so in certain exceptional cases), but the breach of a divine first principle—an outrage upon absolute truth; therefore, in punishing its propagators and abettors, he does not punish men (as the phrase goes) for errors of opinion, but for an offence against faith. It is a necessary and inevitable consequence of his possessing what Protestants have not—an authoritative teacher and a definite creed.

This it was that lay at the bottom of mediæval legislation against heresy and heretics. Ere the principle of private judgment was substituted for that of divine faith, and consecrated as the axiom of a new species of religion, a denial of the doctrines of the Church was felt to be simply a revolt against the truth and authority of God. Living as they did in the full light of revelation, and endued with a gift, a faculty, in the supernatural order analogous to that of reason or sight in the natural order, the men of those days (like Catholics in all times and all countries, whatever be the phase of society or civilisation by which they are surrounded) were possessed of an idea, a principle, a perception, the realisation and exercise of which, to Protestants, who have not the same objects before their mind's vision, seems mere superstition and fanaticism. Their standard was higher, their instincts were keener and purer in all that concerned divine truth. They did not tolerate heresy, from the same motives that Protestants do not tole*rate the more* heinous forms of blasphemy and impiety. *Whatever reasons* the Protestant now gives for not endur*ing certain crimes* against religion and morality, of the same *kind, though far* deeper and more consistent, were and still

are the Catholic's reasons for not enduring certain crimes against faith and morals. If Protestants had a livelier and stronger sense of the truth and sacredness, and the obligatory force, even of such doctrines of Christianity as they think they hold, they would be more earnest in maintaining them inviolate than they are. Their tolerance is the offspring of indifference and unbelief, not of charity toward God or of love for men's souls. If they were more jealous of the divine honour, they would resent insults and outrages upon it as industriously and as effectually as they now resent attacks upon property or public security. I do not mean merely that Protestant governments would punish vice and immorality, irreligion and impiety, to a greater extent than they actually do, but that the people—society at large—would have a higher standard and a stricter rule; and that they would not endure to have God blasphemed, and His laws set at nought, in the way they now are, any more than they endure to have public decency outraged, or the Queen's majesty insulted, or the national independence threatened.

But another reason of toleration at the present day is, that Protestants have no dogmas. It is their boast that their religion is a religion of free inquiry; that they are seekers after truth, which implies that the truth, absolute truth, as yet they have not found. Anyhow, whatever remnants of old Catholic doctrines they still retain, and however impossible in practice their theory of private judgment and uncontrolled liberty of conscience may be, they have as a matter of fact, and as the result of their loose principles and their loss of faith, reduced their religious belief to the very lowest point at which it can be said to constitute in any true sense a belief at all. They have very few doctrines which they could state in any definite or dogmatic form—very few, therefore, to be zealous about. Of course, then, they are, or at least they ought in consistency to be, more tolerant; and yet they take credit to themselves for their liberality towards those who differ from them! After making every article of the Creed an open question, *and turning faith into* mere opinion, they count it an actual *merit in themselves* that they make no difference betwe

truth and error; and that, so far from punishing, they patronise and uphold what Catholics regard as heresy and blasphemy. This is really the whole truth of the matter: Protestantism, in principle and in its last resort, is simply infidelity; and men cannot consistently discountenance or punish the rejection of what they do not themselves receive. Here, for instance, in this Protestant country, toleration is no virtue on the part of those who practise it; it is a social necessity. Among so many and such discordant sects, how is it possible for one to domineer it over the rest, set up its own tenets as the only standard of divine truth, and proscribe the tenets of others? The state of society is such that, for very peace and comfort sake, the widest latitudinarianism in religion is the only theory that will work. The people have no one religion, therefore the government can have no one religion; and the very existence of an established church is an anomaly and an injustice.

It was not so in the ages of faith. Then (as now in purely Catholic countries where Protestantism is unknown) the rulers and the ruled were of one mind in the matter; the same convictions animated all alike. Heresy was universally held to be a crime, and it was suppressed with the popular consent. Thus the punishment of heresy was not only politically possible, but even in the estimation of Protestants, and English Protestants in particular—to whom public opinion, that is, the will of the generality, or even the majority, is law and equity—it must be regarded as reasonable and just. Catholics, of course, judge the whole question on different grounds; but anyhow, it is a fact that, in their non-toleration of heretics, Catholic governments were supported by the cordial and unanimous approval of the people. Nor was it matter of conviction only, firm and deep-seated as that conviction was; but the faith of the Church was the base, nay the living unitive principle, of the whole existing order and relations of things; so that *to disturb that faith* was to shake the foundations on which *all government* and society itself reposed, and to weaken *and disorganise* the very functions of political and social *fe.* *European* civilisation, European jurisprudence, was

the creation of the Catholic Church. Europe was Christendom, and Christendom was Catholic; and the nations that formed the great European family were fused and blended together, in spite of national prejudices and antipathies, into one vast confederation or commonwealth, under the supreme headship of the Pope, by the habitual force of a common faith, and one universal system of polity and law. How different then the whole state of society to any thing of which the world has had experience since the fatal revolt self-styled the Reformation, and how unreasonable, how unfair, to interpret the acts of Catholic governments of that day by the principles and notions of Protestant times!

For, observe what was involved in this state of things. Heresy was not a merely speculative error, or an offence against religion in the abstract; it was also a political crime. It was not only an outrage on the one universal belief, and a positive violation of the common law of Europe; but it struck at the root of all authority, and at the very principle of law itself. This it was that armed the temporal governments against it: they saw in it the very essence of disaffection and revolution. Nor can Protestants dispute their sagacity, or accuse them of intolerance. Protestant governments ere now have proscribed the Catholic religion, and persecuted its priests and professors to the death; and their apologists have defended and justified their conduct on the score of state necessity and the disloyalty of those against whom their violence was directed; nay, to this very day we have penal enactments passed, amidst the acclamations of a nation, for the better security and maintenance of "our Protestant institutions in Church and State." If, then, it be a political aggression to do aught which indirectly and in its remote results may militate against the Protestant character of a country whose Catholic citizens are numbered by the million, that surely was of a revolutionary and anarchic tendency which aimed directly at the subversion of the whole fabric of European society—at a time, too, when the malcontents in religion might be counted by units—which, in fact, sought nothing less *than the destruction* of the old-established Catholic go-

vernments, and the erection of an entire new order of things upon their ruins.

Now this is what Protestants themselves boast that the so-called Reformation actually effected. It brought about a European revolution. Protestantism from the outset was not a mere change of religious conviction, or a revolt against the principle of faith in the abstract; it was an innovation, an aggression, upon an authority and a whole constituted order of things which had existed from time immemorial, and was intimately and vitally connected with every germ and fibre of the social system. Of course, therefore, it was encountered and resisted with all the repressive means which policy and the very instinct of self-preservation suggested. "Protestantism," says Ranke, "included in its very existence the moving causes of a most exasperating and formidable struggle; for the questions it affected were not merely ecclesiastical, but—on account of the intimate connexion subsisting between the Church and the State, upon which the whole system rested—in the highest degree political also." It could not but involve such results, being what it was; this, so far, is its excuse for its political aggressiveness; but it was also its aggravation in the eyes of the governments of that day; and this again is a fact to be taken into account in judging of the measures which were adopted for its suppression.

But Protestantism was not aggressive merely in this inevitable and necessary way. It was not content, as the Protestant historian we have quoted fairly admits, when it had gained toleration, nor when it had secured to itself an equality of rights; what it sought, and endeavoured to obtain by force, was ascendency. Nothing less would satisfy it. And when it had gained the ascendency, how did it acquit itself? We shall look in vain for any of that generous regard for the rights of conscience, or the liberty of the subject, which its present adherents claim as the crowning glory of the new Gospel it proclaimed: no, the Protestants *of* the Reformation ruthlessly oppressed and *persecuted the Catholic* populations when they had got them *into their power;* deprived them of every privilege they

possessed; proscribed their religion, and degraded its professors to a state of serfdom as dishonouring as it was irremediable, except at the price of apostasy. It was the experience of this, as they saw it before their eyes and at their very doors, which urged the Catholic governments of that day to stay the inroad of the new heresy with every weapon and appliance which the laws supplied. That they proceeded in the work of repression with immoderate severity, and at times with unnecessary cruelty, I have not the smallest wish to deny. The governments that so acted were not animated with any remarkable zeal for religion; they were not actuated by "Ultramontane" principles; on the contrary, they were, without exception, what Protestants themselves have styled "Anti-Papal" governments; and their conduct was often worthy of the strongest reprobation. The punishment of heresy was used by them as an engine for state purposes, and by means of a system of wholesale slaughter, which the mind shudders to contemplate, became in their hands nothing less than downright persecution. The Church, as such, whatever individuals might do, so far from countenancing these acts of cruelty, invariably opposed and protested against them, as the more candid Protestant historians have allowed. My present remarks are directed solely to the elucidation of the principle on which the Church lent its sanction to the civil power in the suppression of heresy, and I am by no means concerned with the application of the principle by particular governments and at particular times. This only I will say, that the examples which were set and the provocations which were given by the Protestants in every nation of Europe are quite sufficient to account for the treatment they received from their Catholic rulers, and for the hatred with which they were regarded by the Catholic populations; and of this proofs have been given in several numbers of this series.

One motive, however, there was for the treatment which heretics received, which falls strictly within the limits to which I have confined myself in the present Tract, and *to which attention* cannot be too often called; for it is most *intimately* connected with the subject in hand. I have la

much stress on the fact that a formal difference is to be observed between the Catholic and the Protestant religion, inasmuch as the former is essentially a dogmatic religion, a definite faith; the latter, at most, but a speculative and affective religion, a scheme of opinions. But this is far from being the whole difference between the two. In the Catholic religion there are certain mysteries which are not merely matters of doctrine or objects of faith, but actual realities of the most awful import—the objects of worship. Such, above all, is the adorable presence of Jesus Christ in the most Holy Eucharist. It is not merely a Catholic doctrine that He is sacramentally present; it is a divine fact. As truly as the eternal God became incarnate for us, so truly is He really and substantially present with us on our altars; and that which we call the Blessed Sacrament is not the figure or the emblem of Him,—it is Himself, the Second Person of the Undivided Trinity, who was born of the Virgin Mary. The Protestant, then, who reviled, ridiculed, and blasphemed the most Holy Sacrament, in the estimation and belief of every Catholic vented his ribaldry and impiety, not upon a doctrine only, but upon the very Person of God incarnate. The Protestant, however, did not stop at this, shocking and irritating beyond endurance as such conduct would be; his rage and his hatred extended to the Divine Object Itself. Not only did he take delight in profaning the sacerdotal vestments, the consecrated vessels, and whatever was connected with the tremendous mysteries,—even on occasion striking down the priest of God while ministering at His altar; but he was seized with a fiendish desire to outrage the most Holy Sacrament Itself, and to perpetrate every manner of abomination against It. Every where It was the chief object of attack. To Catholic hearts it seemed as if the propagators of the new heresy sought to renew against Jesus in His Sacrament of Love the ignominies and the outrages of which the Jews had made Him the object in His adorable Passion. The feelings such atrocities excited were, therefore, correspondingly intense. It is not possible to exaggerate—it is not possible for Protestants adequately to conceive—the horror, indignation, and anguish which these

outrages caused (and must ever cause) in the breasts of the faithful. To the multitude no punishment seemed too great for crimes so diabolical; and hence the torments amidst which the wretched men were put to death produced little or no commiseration in the surrounding crowds. Add to which, that the modes of punishing malefactors in those days, among both Catholics and Protestants, were of a far more barbarous* character than they have gradually since become,—another fact which ought to be borne in mind in connection with this subject. However, Protestants in their religious system have nothing in the smallest degree analogous to these distinctive mysteries of the Catholic faith; nothing, therefore, the violation of which could call forth similar feelings of indignation and distress. Catholics, of course, then as now, were fully aware that their Lord was perfectly impassible in His sacramental presence, and that none of the atrocious outrages committed against Him could really touch His Sacred Person; still, these outrages (considered objectively) were as truly directed against Him —the One Supreme Object of their love and worship—as if they could; and Catholics felt as we hope Protestants themselves would have felt had they seen their Saviour in the hands of the Roman soldiers or Herod's "men of war." This is the only comparison which is any adequate representation of the dreadful reality.

But, besides this, there were other enormities, of which Protestants ought to be able to form some just conception; as, for instance, revolting blasphemies against the Blessed Virgin, whom Catholics regard, not merely as a very "pious woman," but, through the mystery of the Incarnation, the very Mother of the Eternal God; profanations of her image, as well as that of her Divine Son, whether as an Infant in her arms, or as dying on the cross for the redemption of the world. Protestants would sufficiently understand the import and the exasperating character of these outrages, if they reflected what their own feelings would be if the pic-

* It should never be forgotten, in considering this feature of the *times, that our own* English code, at a period long subsequent to the *Reformation*, was one of the bloodiest, if not the very bloodiest, *Europe, and* remained unaltered till a very recent date.

ture or image of some one whom they loved and venerated, say that of the Queen, or an honoured parent, or a dear and valued friend, were similarly treated; perhaps daubed with filth, or battered to pieces, or committed to the flames with every mark of scorn and hatred, before their eyes; and their very names, and what they call their "memories," reviled with the coarsest and most loathsome epithets that a wanton malice could invent. If they considered but for one short moment who Jesus is, and that, being who He is, He has—not only *had*, but *has*—a Mother, they might rise to something like a due estimation of the feelings with which Catholics regarded, and must ever regard, the violence of iconoclasts when directed against a Crucifix or a Madonna.

Now, I repeat, Protestants, who have none of those personal feelings about our Lord and His Virgin Mother which Catholics have, and whose very religion, as we may say, consists in disowning and protesting against the Sacramental Presence of the one and the high prerogatives of the other, have no right, in all fairness and consistency, to judge the proceedings of Catholics by what their own would have been under this particular provocation. They ought rather to consider what their conduct would be if they were *similarly* outraged and provoked. Suppose, for instance, the disciples of Tom Paine were to publish abroad their blasphemies against God and the Bible, and to placard the very walls with the coarsest indecencies against the Saviour of mankind; or the Jew were publicly to rail at Him as an impostor; or the Socinian to deride His Divinity with the same revolting particularity of illustration with which the orators of Exeter Hall denounce the "mummeries of Popery" and the "idolatry of the Mass;" or suppose the Catholics of this country were to unite in openly decrying and declaiming against the supremacy of the Queen in civil matters, or should even take to mutilating the "Lion and the Unicorn" in the churches; with what sort of equanimity would "Englishmen and Protestants" regard sayings and doings such as these? Would not the whole nation be roused to fury? Would not the government make quick work of the whole matter, and visit on the offenders the

severest penalties of the law? Even Protestant England, then, for all its liberality, or, as I should say, for all its latitudinarianism, would not tolerate—how could it?—a violation of its first principles. Those principles, it is true, are looser and, in a sense therefore, more comprehensive, than Catholic first principles; but this is, as I have said, no merit on the part of this or any other Protestant country. Protestants—it cannot be too often repeated when the subject of religious intolerance is under discussion—*persecuted as long as they could with safety to the state.* "They have never once," as Father Newman observes, "acted on the principles they profess—never once; for they cannot produce their instance when Protestants, of whatever denomination, were in possession of national power for any sufficient time, without persecuting some or other of their polemical antagonists. So it has been; so it is now." There is this essential difference also to be observed between Protestants and Catholics: Catholics have never punished Protestants as such—that is, for *being* Protestants, but for *apostatizing* from the faith; not for changing their religious opinions, as the Protestant phrase is, but for wilfully perverting and blaspheming the truth of God, obstinately persisting in their heresy, and seducing others from the true Church. The same cannot be said of Protestants. When they have persecuted Catholics, they have persecuted them for *being* Catholics, and *remaining* Catholics; for holding what to Protestants, who have neither dogmas nor Church, are but opinions different from their own, and refusing to abandon them. Here in England, for instance, they proscribed the profession, not of any new and upstart religion, but of the ancient faith, which had existed from time immemorial, and was bound up and, as it were, identified, with all the institutions of the country and the most cherished associations of the people. They fined, imprisoned, and put to a horrible death our Catholic ancestors, because they held to the religion of their fathers, and would not give it up at the bidding of kings and parliaments.

This is an important distinction, and one which suffices to repel a very common accusation. Our adversaries are always saying, that if Catholics ever got the upper hand

again in the country, they would punish Protestants as heretics. But they cannot produce a single precedent in proof of the assertion. Of course, individuals would not be allowed to blaspheme and outrage the religion of the nation when Catholic, any more than they are now allowed to blaspheme and outrage it being Protestant. They would not be permitted, doubtless, to jeer at the Blessed Sacrament, or to insult the Blessed Virgin, or to burn the Pope in effigy, any more than Catholics are now permitted to burn the Protestant Bible in public, or to revile any thing or any body which the nation holds in honour and veneration. As well, therefore,—or rather, as I have just said, with far more reason,—might *we* assert, that if Protestantism ever regained the sort of domination it once possessed, it would repeal the Emancipation Act, re-impose the Test Act, re-enact the penal laws, and renew against us the old persecutions from which we suffered from Elizabeth downwards, or such as are still in vogue against Catholics in Sweden or in Mecklenburg. The assertion is simply unsupported by facts, or it is a mere truism. So, the Mormonites might argue that if they returned to the Protestantism of the old country, individuals would no longer enjoy the privilege of promiscuous concubinage; or the Turks, if they turned Christians, that they would no longer be permitted to practise polygamy, but that even bigamy would become a felony and a "transportable offence."

It must be so, from the very nature of things. So far, therefore, as the allegation has aught of truth in it, it is as applicable to Christianity in general as to Catholicity in particular; but, as commonly employed against the latter, it is a simple calumny.

The principles here laid down are sufficient to account for, and, I will say, to justify, the resistance offered by Catholic states at the present day to the introduction of Protestantism among their subjects: but of all the motives that *might* be assigned for this exclusiveness, I need mention *only one—that of* self-defence. The following little history *bears so strongly on* this point, and is so instructive a commentary on the theory of religious toleration as professed

by Protestants, that it will form no inapt conclusion to the present remarks:

"In 1633, two hundred English Catholic families fled from the religious persecution which pressed heavily upon them in the bosom of their own country. Crossing the Atlantic, they fixed themselves in Maryland, under the direction of Lord Baltimore. . . . The settlers did not long enjoy the peace and liberty of conscience which, at so great a sacrifice, they came to seek in the forests of America. Around them were thousands of the reform sects, which had originally been established in these countries under the protection of Great Britain and Holland. Whilst inflicting on each other penalties and exile, they made common cause in banishing the Catholics. The young colony of Baltimore had exhibited to the New World a solitary example of Christian charity, by granting an asylum and equality of rights to the oppressed of every creed. But, strange to say, this generous hospitality was repaid with ingratitude by those whom it sheltered. Received into Maryland as brothers, the Protestants thronged thither in such numbers that they were very soon the masters; and the first use they made of their preponderance was to interdict that religion which alone had had compassion on their misfortunes. The settlement of Baltimore was not yet of twenty-five years' standing, and already the Catholics beheld themselves deprived of their civil, religious, and political rights. A band of strangers recently proscribed (by their co-religionists) confiscated the property of their hosts, hunted down their priests as if they were noxious animals; and, in order to degrade the confessors of the faith, imposed, at the entry of every Irishman who had left his country that he might remain faithful to his God, the same tax as that for the importation of a negro! . . . So that," writes Mr. M'Mahon, the Protestant historian of Maryland, "in a colony founded by Catholics, and which had acquired under the government of Catholics power and prosperity, Catholics alone became the victims of religious intolerance."—*Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, vol. xi. p. 257.

Comment is unnecessary. The law of self-preservation *justifies—I might* say enjoins upon Catholic states—th

very strongest precautions against the introduction of Protestantism, where they are happily free from its admixture in their own population. To tax such conduct with narrow-mindedness and bigotry is the height of injustice. Yet these are the vulgar topics of the day, when it is desired to excite the popular mind of this country against Popery. It is made an offence and a grievance, that strangers of an alien and a hostile faith are not allowed to parade the exercise of their religion before a purely Catholic population, or to pursue their system of proselytism unchecked. Let these loud declaimers, however, inquire how the Protestant *subjects* of Catholic states are treated, even where the former constitute a very small minority. I defy them to produce an instance of the systematic oppression which the Catholic minorities of Protestant states are invariably forced to undergo; for observe, the Protestant persecutes whenever he has the power, and to the amount of his power; all the while making his boast of upholding the right of religious liberty. The Catholic, who makes no such boast, vindicates intolerance, or the infliction of religious disabilities, only where greater evils would accrue from a practical toleration. Let the candid and fair-minded pronounce between them.

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GALILEO AND THE INQUISITION.

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Galileo and the Inquisition.

THERE are few subjects on which more has been written, and less understood, than the story of Galileo and his far-famed persecution. Every one knows that he was a very celebrated mathematician and astronomer, who flourished in Italy about two centuries and a half ago, and who taught what was then called the Copernican theory about the motion of the earth round the sun, in opposition to the Ptolemaic theory, which had almost universally prevailed before his time, and according to which it was believed that the earth was stationary, and that the sun was continually in motion; finally, it is known that this doctrine of Galileo's, which subsequent investigations and discoveries have confirmed, met with considerable opposition and contradiction at the time that he propounded it,—that he was denounced more than once to the Roman Inquisition for teaching it, and that by that tribunal he was eventually condemned and punished. All this is perfectly true; and if it were all that Protestants are in the habit of saying about Galileo and his history, I should have had no occasion to write this tract about them. Unfortunately, however, Protestant historians have been guilty of such extravagant exaggerations in their narratives of the event, they have so ingeniously distorted and misrepresented all the real facts of the case, that it seems very desirable to put within the reach of all Catholics such a plain and true statement of them, as may suffice to refute these calumnies whenever they are repeated.

It has been asserted, for instance, by some authors, that, as a punishment for his heterodoxy, this distinguished philosopher *was put to* the rack; others have even gone so far *as to say that his* eyes were put out, so that he is entitle

to be considered a martyr of science; and a very large number tell us that he was imprisoned in the dungeons of the Inquisition, either for five years, or for three years, or for one year; for the period is made to vary according to the boldness of invention, the bigotry, or the caprice of the writer. Then, again, those who have been honest enough to tell the truth about the punishment which was inflicted on Galileo, yet have not failed to draw all sorts of false conclusions from the acknowledged fact of his condemnation; either they represent it, for instance, as one example among many which serve to indicate a temper of jealousy and opposition to science on the part of the Catholic Church, or else they urge it as a strong and indeed insuperable objection against our doctrine of the infallibility of the Church's teaching: "The Church," they say, "condemned Galileo's doctrine as false; she now admits it as true: what more need be said?"

In what follows, I propose to take each of these points in order; and without entering into every minute detail of the history, I will briefly supply the necessary answers to these false and mischievous statements.

First, then, let us look at it only in a personal point of view, and inquire what, as a matter of fact, was the real extent and severity of the punishment inflicted on the philosopher. The actual sentence pronounced upon him by the Inquisition is expressed in these words: "We condemn you to the formal prison of the Holy Office, for a period determinable at our pleasure; and by way of salutary penance, we order you, during the next three years, to recite once a week the seven penitential psalms, reserving to ourselves the power of moderating, commuting, or taking off the whole or part of the said punishment and penance." This certainly is a very different picture from those which were set before us just now, and which alone are commonly to be met with in the works of Protestant authors. However, the sentence as it stands even now, certainly looks capable of bearing a very ugly interpretation, for there is *no limit set to the* period of the imprisonment except the *will of the judges* themselves: "we condemn you to the *formal prison of the* Holy Office, for a period determinable

at our pleasure." "Imprisonment in the dungeons of the Inquisition," we fancy we hear our Protestant readers exclaim; "and for as long a period as the inquisitors themselves should please; death itself would have been mercy compared to such a punishment as this." And so indeed it would be, if the dungeons of the Inquisition and the tempers of the inquisitors were any thing at all like that which the Protestant imagination supposes them to be. This, however, is a point we need not now enter upon; let us confine ourselves to the bare narration of facts. We have seen the terms in which the sentence was couched; let us now see how it was carried out. The first place of *imprisonment* assigned to Galileo was the dwelling of some of the principal officers of the Inquisition themselves, the Dominican convent of the Minerva in Rome! Here he spent a week, occupying the rooms of one of his own friends, attended by his own servant, having the range of the whole house and gardens, and receiving without let or hindrance as many visitors as chose to come to him! At the expiration of a week he went to the palace of Guicciardini, the Tuscan ambassador in Rome, who was his great friend and most zealous protector, and whose palace occupied one of the very best situations in the whole city. Hear Galileo himself describing his miserable dungeon: "I have for prison *the delightful palace* of Trinità di Monte," he says in one of his own letters still extant. In this "delightful palace" he remained for four or five months, at the end of which time he was told that he need not stay in Rome any longer; but as the plague was then raging in Florence (which was Galileo's home) "they sent me" (we are still quoting from his own letter) "*to my best friend,* the Archbishop of Siena, and I have always enjoyed the most delightful tranquillity. Now I am at Arcetra in my native country." This was his own villa near Florence; and here he continued to reside without further molestation until the period of his death, which happened some nine or ten years afterwards. Certainly this was a most severe and cruel punishment, was it not? precisely what every Protestant would *naturally have* expected from so bloodthirsty a tribunal as *the Inquisition is* known to be? Need I say more once

ing the torturing, the putting out of eyes, the long and tedious confinement for one, three, or five years, in the dungeons of the Inquisition, of this *martyr* of science, Galileo Galilei?

We come next to the further question, Had the Inquisition any right to condemn and punish him at all? Was it not very narrow-minded bigotry on the part of the Catholic Church to interfere in a matter of science which *could be* no concern of hers? Ought she not to have confined herself to her own business, theology? And does not the whole proceeding, therefore, show a feeling of jealousy and spiteful opposition to science on the part of the Holy See and its principal officers? To answer these questions satisfactorily, I must go back a little in my narrative, and give you some sketch of the rise and progress of the scientific theories which Galileo maintained, and the manner in which he maintained them.

If one were to believe the statements or insinuations of most Protestant writers, one should think that from the beginning the Church authorities had always regarded the new scientific opinions concerning the earth's motion with an eye of jealousy and mistrust; and that finally, in the days of Galileo, this long-pent-up jealousy broke out into open rupture, when the Church avowed herself the sworn antagonist of the new doctrine,—that doctrine which is now universally adopted even in her own schools, and of which, had it depended upon her, mankind would have never heard. Now what will our good readers think when we inform them, that it is to this Church of Rome we are mainly indebted for the new theory—that in Rome it had its birth —in Rome it was fostered and matured; that but for Roman auspices—the encouragement of Popes and cardinals—the adoption of the new theory had in all human probability been thrown back to a distance which it would be now to no purpose to try to calculate? Yes, *to the Pontiffs and dignitaries of Rome we are mainly indebted for the Copernican system,* as it is called; that is, for the system which teaches *that the earth moves,* and that the sun is at rest.

The proof of this assertion (which we have stated in *the words of the Dublin Review,* July 1838, in an article to

which we shall be often indebted in the course of these pages,) is to be found in the following facts. The first in modern times to broach the Copernican theory was himself a cardinal; and one moreover who was raised to so high a dignity from a very humble and obscure position, precisely as a reward for these very abilities in mathematics and astronomy which had led to his adoption of the theory in question. So far from being censured for these opinions, which, however, he only propounded as a *theory* or an hypothesis, he continued to enjoy most unequivocal marks of esteem and affection from the Popes and the Court of Rome, down to the hour of his death in 1464. Clearly the Church manifested no jealousy or mistrust of science in her treatment of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa. He was followed, about forty years later, by Copernicus himself, who actually held a professor's chair, under the very eye of the Pope, in the city of Rome, and delivered lectures there on his new theory to overwhelming crowds that flocked to hear him, sometimes to the number of two thousand. Certainly it was now high time for the "*spiritual tyrant*" to take the alarm; yet we can discover no symptom of any such feeling, unless it is to be found in the fact that the Pope (Leo X.) summoned him to the Lateran Council, which was then employed on the correction of the calendar, and ordered him to study the motions of the planets with reference to this object. By and by Copernicus retired from his duties as professor, and immediately the dignitaries of the Church are found vying with each other in honouring and rewarding him. At a later period it becomes known, that since his retirement to Prussia (of which country he was a native, and held a canonry in one of its cathedrals) he had prepared a great work which is to displace all the astronomical systems of other times and countries; but that he is prevented from publishing it, partly by the want of means, partly by a consideration of the violent opposition which the novelty of his views was sure to create on the part of the prejudiced and ignorant. Under these circumstances, whence does he receive encouragement and assistance *to continue* and to publish his labours? From Pope *Rome. One of the* cardinals solicits him in the most e

nest manner no longer to withhold his discoveries from the public, and volunteers to charge himself with all the necessary expenses. Unfortunately this cardinal soon dies; but another member of the Sacred College is found to take the matter up with the same zeal, and the long-expected work at length comes forth; and as it was by order of Leo X. that he had undertaken it, so he now dedicated it to the reigning Pope, Paul III. You see, then, that the theory in question may almost be said to have had an exclusively ecclesiastical origin. As propounded by Copernicus himself, who is always looked upon as its principal author, and by whose name it has ever since been known, it was actually sent forth to the world bearing on its front the name and sanction of the head of the Catholic Church. How came it to fare differently when it was adopted and propounded by Galileo?

Galileo was not by birth a Roman, nor even a temporal subject of the Pope. He was a Tuscan, born at Pisa, and was made mathematical professor in the university of that city when he was scarcely twenty-five years old. By and by, however, when he had invented the telescope, and by its assistance had made many wonderful discoveries in the heavens, he determined to repair to Rome, as being the spot of all Europe where, with the best prospect of advantage to science, he could first make known those startling revelations which he had to proclaim. In this he did but follow the example of all his predecessors in science; Rome was notoriously the generous friend and protector of talent, wherever it was to be found; the steadfast promoter of scientific investigation, and liberal rewarder of valuable discoveries. Nor did Galileo find that he was to be any exception to this rule. Gardens and palaces were flung open for his use, and prelates and cardinals were his admiring attendants. In process of time he returned to his native country, and there he encountered the usual fate of all great men who have ever dared to contradict some *favourite* opinion which has been long and universally held. *He became an object* of suspicion and jealousy. In Rome, *where were the* most distinguished men of learning and *cience—the only* proper judges in such matters—he had

been most favourably received, and the most eminent professors in the various colleges had ranged themselves on the side of the new discoveries. The Copernican system was taught in the lectures of the Roman college, that is, of the Jesuit college in Rome; it was also taught in the *Sapienza* in that city, the Pope's own university; and as a probable opinion, it was taught in the university of Pisa, and elsewhere. But when these new opinions began to be generally noised abroad and talked about, they necessarily came to the ears of many who were altogether ignorant of astronomical science, and who, like most ignorant men, were very confident of their own wisdom, and very intolerant of those who differed from them. These men were very much shocked by what they conceived to be the contradiction between the astronomical theory of Galileo and the express declarations of Holy Writ; for instance, Galileo taught that the earth moved, and that the sun was at rest; but what became then of the miracle recorded of Josue, that at his command "the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down for the space of one day?" What became also of those numerous other passages in which the sun is clearly spoken of as in motion, and the earth as at rest? No reasonably candid man will be surprised that many a good priest in the towns and villages of Tuscany should have been much disturbed and scandalised at the first promulgation of the new theories, however much he may lament the intemperate manner in which their zeal for what they conceived to be the teaching of God's Word subsequently manifested itself. When the news of these clerical attacks upon the new philosophy reached Rome, we are told by one who was there at the time, and who wrote an account of it to Galileo, that every body "considered it great impertinence in the Tuscan preachers to mount their pulpits and to treat of such high professor-like matters before women and the common people, where there were so few who could understand them." Galileo not only considered it "great impertinence," and was much annoyed by it, but he also took the unfortunate *resolution of meeting* his assailants upon their own ground *and set to work to* clear up in his own way these scriptur

difficulties which he found to be the chief obstacle to the general acceptance of his theories.

His predecessor, Copernicus, was far from having been unconscious of these same scriptural difficulties; but he was content to leave them in the hands of theologians, and made no attempt to explain them himself. Even in his dedication to the Pope he did not scruple to use the following language: "If perchance," he said, "there shall be any vain babblers, who, though ignorant of all mathematical science, yet assume a right to pronounce upon it; and on the strength of some text of Scripture, distorted to support their views, blame and abuse my work, I let them do so; but I also will take leave to despise their judgment as rash. . . . . Mathematics are written for mathematicians, who will, I think, agree that my labours are of some use to the ecclesiastical commonwealth of which your Holiness is now the head." If Galileo could have been contented to observe the same rule, we should never have heard of his prosecution and condemnation by the Inquisition. But instead of this, he determined to moot the theological question himself, and in this way he became the real cause of all the mischief that followed. He first addressed a letter of inquiry to one of the cardinals in Rome, who said in reply that "he considered that the texts which merely assert that the earth stands, would admit of being so construed as to mean nothing more than its stability and permanence; but that, when it is said that the sun goes round and the heavens move, the only interpretation that can be proposed (by the advocates of the new views) is, that the Scriptures speak after the common manner of the people, and that this mode of explaining cannot be admitted without great necessity:" nevertheless, he mentions a Spanish theologian of repute who had maintained that the theory of the earth's motion was more in conformity with the Scripture than the opposite theory; but he adds that this interpretation was not followed. It appears, then, that not only in Rome, but even in Spain, where the severity of the Inquisition was so much greater than it ever was in the Holy City, men were allowed to hold and to teach either opinion concerning this question of the rest or motion of the sun, according

to the system of philosophy which they preferred. It was treated as a scientific, and not as a religious question; and the Church put no hindrance in the way of any man who chose to espouse and maintain, by merely philosophical arguments, either the one theory or the other. Galileo, however, could not keep his pen off the theological bearings of the question; and he wrote several letters to different persons, in which he discussed the scriptural difficulties urged against him. A copy of one of these letters fell into the hands of one of his enemies; who, armed with this important document, immediately went off to Rome to lay his complaint before the Holy Office. And now mark the zeal with which this Holy Office (that is, the Inquisition), the Pope, and all the cardinals, accepted the denunciation, seized the philosopher, and condemned his doctrine! The subject-matter of the accusation was, as we have said, a certain private letter, a copy of which was produced; the inquisitors asked to see the original; the accuser had it not; he knew very well, and so did the inquisitors, to whom the letter had been addressed; nevertheless they made no attempt to bring that person into court; they did not even summon Galileo, nor examine a single witness who had seen the original, as to whether the copy put in by the accuser was authentic; but the proceedings were instantly stayed, and the whole matter fell to the ground!

So far, then, from there being any disposition on the part of Rome to quarrel with science, and to come into angry collision with the new scientific doctrines, she seems to have been specially anxious to give those doctrines the opportunity of obtaining the most full and impartial consideration. Nothing can exceed the moderation of tone displayed by the Roman prelates and cardinals of that day, and the kindness with which they sought to warn Galileo from the dangerous rocks on which he seemed determined to ruin himself. On the last day of February 1615, immediately after the denunciation, a friend wrote to him to say that he had seen Cardinal Barberini (afterwards Pope Urban VIII.), and that he had said, "Galileo ought not to *travel out of the* limits of physics and mathematics; b

should confine himself to such reasonings as Ptolemy and Copernicus used; *declaring the views of Scripture, theologians maintain to be their own particular province.*" Three weeks afterwards the same friend writes to him again, and gives him a similar verdict from two other members of the Sacred College: "I have been this morning," he says, "with Monsignor Dini to the Cardinal del Monte, who told us he had lately had a long conversation with Cardinal Bellarmine on the subject of the new opinions, and that the conclusion was, that by confining himself to the system and its demonstration, *without interfering with the Scriptures, the interpretation of which they wish to have confined to theological professors approved and authorised for the purpose*, Galileo would be secure against any contradiction; but that otherwise, explanations of Scripture, however ingenious, will be admitted with difficulty, when they depart from the common opinion of the fathers." Three weeks later still, Galileo receives another letter from the bishop mentioned in the last (Monsignor Dini), in which he is told that Cardinal Bellarmine had remarked that Galileo's case was dismissed, and that if he spoke with circumspection, and "*only as a mathematician*, he would be put to no further trouble."

What decision could be more equitable and temperate than this? And it appears to have given general satisfaction to the advocates of the new opinions, some of whom wrote to Galileo to congratulate him upon it as an important point gained. Only the philosopher himself remained unsatisfied; he was bent upon having his adopted theory received as an unquestionable truth; and spite of the remonstrances of his friends, he exerts himself in every possible way, both in season and out of season, to effect this purpose. First, he writes a long argumentative letter, which he sends to this same Monsignor Dini, and begs him to lay it before "Bellarmine and the Jesuits, as being those who know most about such things." Monsignor Dini, acting on his own opinion and the advice of very sensible *friends*, thinks it better not to deliver this letter, and writes *to Galileo to tell him* so; reminding him, at the same time, *that he is left at* perfect liberty to treat the question mathe-

matically, provided he abstain from discussing its theological bearings;* and he begs him not to raise the question again, lest by assuming the attitude of defence where no attack is made, he excite the suspicion of something wrong. It is deeply to be regretted that this prudent advice should have been neglected. But the impetuous philosopher was too obstinate to be persuaded; and he immediately proceeded to elaborate the last and most formidable of his polemical epistles, which he sent to the court of Florence; and then set out, of his own free will, to present himself before the Inquisition in Rome, determined to force them, as it were, to pronounce a judgment upon his theories; to learn, as he expressed himself in one of his letters on the occasion, "*what he was to believe on the Copernican system.*" In all that had hitherto been done, the Church had clearly shown her unwillingness to interfere in the matter; had shown that she did not consider it a part of her duty to express any opinion whatever with reference to physical theories as such, unless they were brought into open and unmistakeable collision with the doctrines of the faith. But now Galileo goes, to *force* her to speak. He arrives in Rome, and is delighted by the favourable reception he meets with; his enemies do all they can to vilify and injure him, by private and malicious whisperings, but without success. "My affair," he says of himself, "has been brought to a close, so far as I am individually concerned; the result has been signified to me by all their Eminences the Cardinals (who manage these affairs in the most liberal and obliging manner), with the assurance that they were perfectly satisfied, as well of my own candour and sincerity, as of the diabolical malignity and iniquitous purposes of my persecutors; so that, so far as I am personally concerned, I might return home at any moment." Still, these private and personal communications to himself did not satisfy him; he desired to obtain some public and official recognition of his doctrines; he wished the Pope and the Inqui-

* "Provided you do not enter the Sacristy," is the literal translation of the words used; but the sense is clearly that given in the text. "*provided* you don't poke your nose into what's other people's business."

sition, says the ambassador of his own country, then resident in Rome, to declare that the Copernican system was founded on the Bible; and to gain this end, he lingered on in the Holy City, and sought to persuade the most eminent dignitaries of the Church to exert themselves to the same purpose. Amongst those whom he succeeded in winning over to his side was Cardinal Ostini, who, at a most inopportune moment, when the Pope and Cardinals were engaged in one of their largest congregations, in some deep and important discussion, interposed in the most abrupt manner to bring on the troublesome question. For this ill-advised conduct he was immediately reprimanded by the Pope; nevertheless he returned to the charge, and again interrupted the business in hand. Then, and not till then, did the Pope, under feelings of irritation, declare that he would send the whole affair before the Inquisition, which tribunal presently enjoined silence upon him.

This, however, is a point on which we must speak at length by and by; at present I will only observe, that Galileo had nobody but himself and his friends to thank for this result. The examination was entirely of his own seeking, and not owing to any officious interference or excessive jealousy on the part of the Church, either against scientific pursuits generally, or against the Copernican theory of the earth's motion in particular. This is abundantly proved also by the subsequent history of the philosopher and his disciples. He returned from Rome to Florence, where he was as much courted and admired as ever. Some years afterwards, Cardinal Barberini was raised to the pontifical throne: immediately the friends of Galileo, and those who were known to favour his opinions, were placed in various posts of honour and profit, either immediately about the person of the Pope, or in some of the colleges and universities in his dominions. Galileo himself revisited the Eternal City, had a cordial interview with his Holiness, was loaded with honours, and *received* a pension for himself and his son. Elated by this *favourable fortune*, his old imprudence again got the mastery *over him*, and he not only published a work on the *very subject on* which the Inquisition had commanded him

to keep silence, but in the preface he actually referred to the decree of 1616 by name, and in a tone of such irony and bitter sarcasm as rendered it impossible that any tribunal, pretending to public respect, should tamely submit to it. Moreover, there were certain allusions in the preface to "a most learned and elevated personage," who was treated in any thing but a complimentary manner; and it was represented to his Holiness that the personage referred to could not be any other than himself. Some modern writers, who have studied the matter, do not consider it by any means certain that any insult was intended. However, the Pope thought otherwise; he was very angry with Galileo, and he sent the case to the Inquisition. Galileo was arraigned on the charge of having violated the order imposed upon him in 1616; and being found guilty, that *very severe* sentence was pronounced against him, the full particulars of the execution of which were laid before you in the beginning of this narrative.

I think I have now said enough to disprove the second Protestant falsehood on which I promised to speak, viz. the inferences which it is sometimes attempted to draw from the history of Galileo, that there is a certain temper of suspicion and jealousy, and bigoted opposition to science, on the part of the highest authorities in the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, I cannot altogether dismiss this branch of my subject without making two further observations upon it.

The first is, that even if this notion were as true in fact as we have shown it to be false, yet, in the present instance at least, it ought certainly to have been looked upon with very forgiving eyes; nay more, it ought even to have been most highly applauded, by all genuine and honest Protestants. For what was the *motive* of the jealousy? what was it which the Catholic Church venerated, and which the new opinions of Galileo were thought likely to bring into disrepute, and for whose sake therefore those opinions were condemned? Did the theory of the earth's motion round the sun threaten to overthrow "some figment of Popery," some "corrupt doctrine," or "superstitious practice?" Was it *transubstantiation*, or penance, or relics, or images, whose *truth, or value,* or authority, was thought to be jeopardis

by the new discoveries? No, none of these things; it was neither more nor less than the holy Scriptures themselves; those Scriptures which Catholics are accused of holding in such light esteem, and of which Protestants profess to have so jealous a care and guardianship. The holy Scriptures, in their plain, literal, and generally accepted meaning, seemed distinctly to assert that the earth was always at rest and motionless, but that the sun "went out from the end of heaven, and that his circuit was even to the end thereof, and that he rejoiced as a giant to run the way;" so that it was by a special miracle that the sun "stood still," in the days of Josue, "till the people had revenged themselves of their enemies." On the other hand, here was a weak, fallible man,—a wise man certainly, and a clever philosopher and mathematician, if you will, yet no inspired prophet sent by God with authority to contradict or correct the holy Scriptures,—and this fallible man went about, dinning into every body's ears that it would be a miracle if the earth were ever to stand still, or if the sun were ever to move; for that, as a general rule, the earth was always spinning about, and the sun was always at rest. Surely any one who withstood the teaching of this philosopher in order that he might uphold the authority of the Scriptures, had a right to expect nothing but praise and the most grateful admiration from every consistent Protestant. But, alas! I am afraid that, with the majority of Protestants, the hatred of Popery is a far stronger and more deeply-rooted feeling than the love of the Bible; and accordingly they never cease to denounce the condemnation of Galileo's opinions by the Inquisition as "one of the most remarkable records of intolerant ignorance and bigoted folly to be found in the history of science;" while they even make it a merit in the philosopher that "as to reconciling the Bible with his opinions, he regarded this *as a matter altogether indifferent*, and, indeed, beside the real question!" Oh, the wonderful one-sidedness of *Protestantism!* which can make that which, under ordinary *circumstances*, they would denounce as the height of impiety, *an actual* subject of panegyric when they fancy they *find it in a* man who was condemned by the Inquisition.

It so happens, indeed, that the statement is altogether false; Galileo did *not* consider the reconciling of the Bible with his opinions as a matter altogether indifferent; it was precisely because he would meddle with this question, and insist on its being solved in his own way, that he was at last condemned. But this makes no difference to our present argument: the fact still remains the same, to which we desire here to draw the attention of our readers, viz. the astounding inconsistency and perverseness of Protestants in praising Galileo for his supposed disregard of the Bible, and in censuring the Inquisition for its jealous guardianship of it.

The second observation which I desired to make concerns the conduct of Protestant sects (or Churches, so to call them) under similar circumstances. Protestants make it a subject of reproach against us, that the authorities of the Catholic Church are jealous of scientific discoveries, as likely to endanger some of the dogmas of the Catholic faith; and they would fain hold up our religion to public indignation as the enemy of all scientific progress and improvement. Now I think I have sufficiently shown that at least the case of Galileo affords no proof of this proposition; and it would not be difficult to multiply instances distinctly proving the contrary. At present, however, I propose merely to retort the accusation upon themselves; and to show, by an example, that however heinous this fault may be, it is one on which Protestants are scarcely entitled to become the accusers, since they have certainly done the very same thing themselves which they so loudly object against in us; and it happens, singularly enough, that the example I have to allege concerns this very same theory of the earth's rotation, which was the occasion of Galileo's troubles. We have seen that Galileo was not the first to originate this theory; amongst others, he had been preceded by Kepler, a German Protestant, who, in the year 1596, wrote a book in which he undertook argumentatively to demonstrate its truth. Before this work could be printed, it was necessary to lay it before the Academical Senate of *Tubingen; and the* unanimous decision of the Protestant *divines composing* this senate was, that the book contains

a damnable heresy, because it contradicted the teaching of the Bible! To this Kepler made much the same reply as was afterwards made by Galileo and his friends, and is now generally received. He offered an interpretation of the particular passages of the Bible that were quoted against him, by which interpretation, he said, his astronomical theory could be perfectly reconciled with Holy Writ. And one would have thought that the theological faculty of Protestant Tubingen were bound by their own principles to accept this explanation at once, if not as satisfactory *to themselves*, yet at least as being a *possible* interpretation, which might after all be the true one; and, therefore, that *their own* interpretation ought not to be allowed to stand in the way of scientific discoveries. For the very pillar and foundation of the Protestant system is the right of private judgment; that is, the right of every man to explain the Bible for himself. And clearly Kepler was not sinning against this right, but diligently using it. Nevertheless, these Protestant divines did but repeat their condemnation of Kepler's book with greater bitterness than before; so that it became necessary for the Duke of Wurtemberg, who was personally attached to him, to interpose in his behalf. Even this, however, could not protect him from a number of vexatious annoyances at the hands of his clerical opponents, which eventually drove him from Wurtemberg *to take refuge in a Catholic country!* A German Protestant, who has written the history of his life, after relating this anecdote of Kepler, and alluding to the case of Galileo, makes the following observation: "Thus we see, in those dark times, two religious parties, utterly divided, nevertheless unite together in obstructing the progress of natural science." We will not stop to examine into the truth of this sentence, taken as it stands; but we will put it into a form in which we think no man of ordinary honesty can refuse to subscribe to it, viz. that *if* the condemnation of Galileo proves the hostility of Catholicity to secular and scientific knowledge, the condemnation of *Kepler proves just* the same against Protestantism!

I come now to the third and last point on which I proposed *to speak*, namely, how far the condemnation of Ga-

lileo and of the Copernican theory can be considered to furnish any objection against the doctrine of the Church's infallibility. "The Church of Rome," say our Protestant adversaries, "pretends that she cannot err, and that all her decisions are infallibly true; yet, in the year 1616, she decided that 'the proposition that the sun is the centre of the world, and immovable from its place, is absurd, philosophically false, and formally heretical, because it is expressly contrary to the holy Scripture; and the proposition that the earth is not the centre of the world, nor immovable, but that it moves, and also with a diurnal motion, is also absurd, philosophically false, and, theologically considered, at least erroneous in faith.' This," they say, "was the decision of the Church in 1616; yet we know—all the world has *long* known, and even the Church has now at last been obliged to confess—that these two condemned propositions are neither absurd, nor false, nor heretical, nor erroneous in faith, nor contrary to holy Scripture, but absolutely and philosophically true; so that, as a matter of fact, the sentence in which these propositions were condemned has since been actually reversed by the Holy See itself. Pope Benedict XIV. suspended the decrees; and in 1818—two hundred years after they were passed—Pope Pius VII. repealed them! After this, what becomes of the Popish doctrine of the Church's infallibility?"

Such is the Protestant argument; and at first sight it is certainly a very specious one. Yet a brief and simple explanation will at once explain the difficulty. All decisions of the Church in council, or of the Pope speaking *ex cathedrâ*, as it is called, are infallibly true; the decrees of the council of the Inquisition, of the congregation of the Index, or of any other congregation acting under authority of the Pope, are to be *obeyed* of course, just as the decisions of any merely human and secular tribunal are to be obeyed; nay, much more, they have a far higher claim upon the reverence and submission of all good Catholics, as being the decisions of persons or congregations delegated by the Supreme *Pontiff* for the express purpose of making such *decisions*; nevertheless, they are not formal definitions

faith, therefore no infallibility is ever claimed for them, and therefore they are not unchangeable. Let us look into the details of the history before us somewhat more closely, and our meaning will in the end become still more clear.

The passages which our Protestant objector has quoted as decrees of the Church, and which stigmatise Galileo's theories as false, absurd, and heretical, are taken quite correctly from the sentence passed by the Inquisition on the 25th of February, 1616. They do not, however, form any real part of the sentence itself, but are merely mentioned in the preamble as the judgment of the *theological qualifiers* of the Holy Office, according to which the inquisitors proceeded to take cognisance of the case, and to pass sentence. For the Inquisition has no authority whatever to pronounce upon the truth or falsehood of doctrine; it is a criminal tribunal, having to do with *persons*, not with doctrines; it decides questions of fact with regard to individuals and their actions, whether they have done such or such a deed, whether they have held and defended such or such an opinion; and it acquits or condemns them accordingly. And it employs theologians, under the title of *qualifiers*, to prepare the cases which are submitted to them, and to qualify the propositions asserted by the accused person, in such a way as to render him liable to its authority. Now, since this congregation of the Holy Office was instituted for the suppression of *heresy*, no proposition could form matter of accusation in its court unless it were *qualified*, that is, legally and technically described, as *heretical*. It does not, however, follow that the proposition complained of was really heretical in the strict and theological sense of the term, merely because the qualifiers so described it, any more than it follows that the defendant in a trial in our own court of Queen's Bench has really been going about with a sword or blunderbuss, committing all kinds of violence, because he is set forth in the technical pleadings of the process as having done such and such a thing "by *force* and arms." The court in question was originally *constituted only for* affairs of the king's peace; and in order *to bring an act* within its jurisdiction, it is necessary to *qualify it, or legally* describe it, as an act of violence; thus,

the legal pleadings in an action before the Queen's Bench for breach of contract proceed upon the supposition of money "detained by force." An amusing story is told of a country squire from the west going up to town on one occasion in great haste, for the sole purpose of chastising an unfortunate barrister who had been constrained to describe him in the pleadings of some action that had been brought against him, as "confederating and conspiring." The good squire being conscious that he had never confederated or conspired against any body in his life, could not brook the indignity of being so described. Had there been some friend at his elbow at all familiar with the forms of our legal pleadings, he would have instructed him in the real value of these set phrases, and so have put his mind at rest by assuring him that nobody in the world, not even the unfortunate barrister himself, ever dreamed for a moment that he was really of such a character as he had been legally obliged to describe him. Just so, persons familiar with the forms that were used in the courts of the Holy Office would have known the real value of the term 'heresy' when applied by the theologians to qualify some proposition that had been maintained by any body brought before that tribunal. The tribunal was originally constituted only for affairs of heresy, strictly so called. *Now* it took cognisance of *all* religious offences of any kind, and even of some that could hardly be called religious at all; and by a legal fiction all these offences alike were *qualified* as heretical. Thus, Martin Luther, speaking of the refusal of the prefect of some town in the Roman States to pay his accustomed tribute to the Pope, and of the measures taken against him, says, "Such impertinence must always in the Pope's spiritual law be called heresy." Galileo himself, who certainly was not ignorant of the decree which the Inquisition had passed, yet distinctly says, in writing to a friend a few days afterwards, that "the result has not been favourable to his enemies, because *the doctrine of Copernicus has not been declared heretical*, but only as not consonant to the holy Scriptures." It *had* been declared heretical, as far as mere words *go; but* only in a legal document, which was no *equivalent to an* ecclesiastical decision.

It had been condemned, however, by *another* tribunal, as being opposed to holy Scripture; and it is to this decision that Galileo is here alluding. On the 5th of March, 1616, the Congregation of the Index published the following decree: "Since it has come to the knowledge of this holy Congregation, that the false Pythagorean doctrine, altogether opposed to the divine Scripture, of the mobility of the earth and immobility of the sun, as taught by Copernicus, &c., is being promulgated and accepted by many, as may be seen by a printed letter of F. Foscarini, in which he attempts to prove that the said doctrine is consonant to truth, and not opposed to holy Scripture; therefore, lest this opinion insinuate itself further, to the damage of Catholic truth, this Congregation has decreed that the said books of Copernicus, &c. be suspended till they are corrected; and that the book of Foscarini, and all others teaching the same thing, be prohibited." Here, then, it may be urged, is a decision of another congregation, acting by authority of the Pope, and having to do, not with persons, but with books and the opinions that are set forth in books; and this too declares that the Copernican theory is altogether opposed to the Divine Scriptures, and therefore, by implication, heretical. How do you propose to get over this difficulty? I answer, by referring to the subsequent conduct and declarations of all the parties concerned, which often furnish the best commentary we can desire on the true meaning of an official document. And I find the Pope himself distinctly declaring that the Copernican system is "not condemned, nor is it to be considered heretical, but only as rash;" I learn from the evidence of a contemporary, and an opponent of Galileo's, that Cardinal Bellarmine (who is commonly accused as one of his most bigoted adversaries) used to say, that "when a demonstration should be found to establish the truth of the earth's motion, *then* it would be proper to interpret the holy Scriptures otherwise than they had *hitherto* been, in those passages where mention is made of *the stability of* the earth and movement of the heavens," *thereby clearly* intimating his belief that such a demonstration *might*, or even probably would, one day be found;

and showing therefore that he could not possibly believe the doctrine to be really opposed to the Divine Scriptures. Moreover, it is known that after these sentences had been published by the Congregations of the Inquisition and of the Index respectively, Galileo was not called upon to retract or abjure his opinion, but only to promise that he would abstain from publicly teaching and defending it; and even *this* it would seem that he might have been allowed to do, provided he did not teach it as a certain and demonstrated truth, but only as a mere hypothesis. For, as we have seen, the works of Copernicus, in which it was taught, were not absolutely condemned, but only suspended *till they were corrected;* and one of the cardinals immediately set about this very thing, carefully changing every dogmatic assertion of the two propositions, or any conclusion from them, into a merely hypothetical statement; after which the work was allowed. Now no one in his senses can imagine that the Roman inquisitors would discharge a man whom they really believed to be a heretic, without requiring him to abjure that heresy; nor that a cardinal would have been allowed, or rather (for this was the true state of the case) actually *employed,* to publish a work written for the express purpose of recommending a system which was believed to be unquestionably contrary to holy Scripture.

What, then, was the true meaning of the Congregation of the Index, when they called the Pythagorean doctrine "false, and altogether opposed to the divine Scripture?" We should not, as Catholics, be strictly bound to defend these words of the Congregation, even though they constituted the direct and formal substance of the decree, seeing (as we have already had occasion to observe) that the said Congregation is not a tribunal having authority to make a definition of faith, and therefore is not preserved from the possibility of falling into error: still less are we bound to defend them, when they do *not* form the substance of the decree, but are introduced merely by the way, as though the doctrine referred to had been already condemned (by *universal consent,* by the voice of tradition, or in any other *way, it matters not* how), and was known to be false as

unscriptural; for the decree does not formally assert this, rather it takes it for granted. Waving these objections, however, we will say that there is a sense in which the words of the Congregation may be interpreted, according to which the truth and justice of the decree may be maintained, yet without abandoning the Copernican system; and I think that the evidence which has been adduced justifies us in saying that, even though this were not the sense actually intended by the legislators, yet that it was the sense universally put upon it by the public, and so, in the end, sanctioned as its only true and proper meaning. I say, then, that it is clear from the language and the conduct of all parties concerned, that the Copernican system was not declared to be contrary to holy Scripture in such a sense as would exclude the possibility of its being one day found to be in accordance with it. It was enough for the purposes of the Congregation of the Index, that the system was contrary to the present and common interpretation of Scripture, without entering into the question whether this interpretation was absolutely the correct and true one. It was altogether opposed to the divine Scripture, not absolutely, but as commonly received and interpreted; it was opposed, not perhaps to the real meaning of the words of Scripture, but to the honour in which it should be held, to the authority which men ought to attribute to it. It was calculated to bring holy Scripture into disrepute, to throw doubts upon its truth, to excite evil suspicions against it.

Now the same authority which bids us believe in the inspiration of Scripture, clearly forbids us to hold or maintain any physical theory which contradicts Scripture, either really or in our own opinion. Hence it may become an offence against religion to maintain even a *truth* of physical science under certain circumstances. If Scripture, for instance, has always been explained on a contrary theory, and if the faith of Christians would receive a rude shock from its sudden overthrow; if the new doctrine be a mere *view,* only plausible, and not scientifically demonstrated; if *it is put forward* with dogmatism, and a supreme careless*ness of what* may become of the authority of Scripture in *the minds of those* who become converts to the new opinion,

—in such circumstances the tribunals of the Church are quite justified in branding it as an offence against religion, whether it be called by the generic name of heresy, or whether it be specified as contrary to Scripture; that is to say, tending to undermine its authority. Nay, I will go further, and say that, under such circumstances, the Church is plainly *bound*, in her care for the faith of the multitude, to interpose, and—without pronouncing dogmatically as to whether the view may or may not afterwards come out as a physical and scientific truth (which would exceed the limits of her authority)—to declare that it is at present rash, dangerous, false, and heretical theologically, as tending to subvert the authority of Scripture in the minds of men; to forbid its being taught as a demonstrated fact; and to reduce it to what it really is at the time, a mere hypothesis, useful to explain phenomena, but not certain as a real fact in nature; and lastly, to prevent any such public discussion of the new views, even as a mere hypothesis, as may tend to produce a mistrust of the truth of Scripture; but, at the same time, to give individuals liberty to hold it, provided they can reconcile it in their own minds with the supreme authority of Scripture, and provided they will abstain from teaching it in the manner forbidden by the Church.

And this was precisely the position in which the Copernican theory stood in the time of Galileo. It is now often taken for granted that the Copernican theory is self-evident, and that the Roman theologians of 1616 and 1633 must have been simple dolts not to recognise its truth the moment Galileo propounded it. But so far from this being the case, persons who are competent to give an opinion on such matters do not hesitate to say, that up to Galileo's time the balance of proof was positively in favour of the old system, and that even down to the days of Sir Isaac Newton there was nothing to make the Copernican system more plausible and reasonable than the Ptolemaic theory; and it is universally acknowledged that the arguments on which Galileo mainly depended for the proof of his system were utterly fallacious and false. And it is of great importance that we should bear this in mind, with reference to *the retractation* which he was afterwards (in 1633) oblig

to make of his published opinions. At his first condemnation, in 1616, he was not required to abjure any opinion or doctrine which he might entertain; and Cardinal Bellarmine, at his request, furnished him with a certificate to that effect; he only received a simple admonition, and promised that he would not publicly teach or defend his theory any more. But in 1633, when he was condemned for having infringed that prohibition, he was called upon to do much more than this; he was required to subscribe to the condemnation of his own theory, "with a sincere heart and unfeigned faith to abjure, curse, and detest the said errors and heresies, together with all other heresies contrary to the Catholic Church." And he did so; neither can he be justly accused of dishonesty for the act, even though it be true (as is commonly reported) that at the very moment he made such a retractation he felt the most intimate conviction in his own mind that his theory would eventually prove to be true. For he would condemn and renounce it only in the same sense in which the Inquisition and the Index had done so before; that is, simply as being accidentally contrary to the dignity and estimation of Scripture, and as being false in the sense of unproved.

Galileo's great mistake was this; he had attempted to get a theory approved as true, before he could demonstrate it to be so; and he tried to get the old theory, which was closely bound up in men's minds with the truth of Scripture, denounced as false, before he could *prove* that it was false. Now the Christian religion commands us to pluck out even our right eye, our dearest sense, our clearest knowledge, our most engrossing study, and cast it from us, if it be an occasion of sin to us. And it commands us to be yet more tender of the conscience of our brethren; it says that it were better to be thrown into the sea, with a millstone tied round our neck, than to scandalise a little one of Christ, even by our lawful recreations. And common sense assures us, that if it is right and necessary to sacrifice wife and children, houses and lands, in order to save our souls, *it would be madness* to make an exception in favour of such *scientific pursuits* as are found by experience to be an occasion *of scandal.* Now it was obvious—and, indeed, Galileo

himself confessed as much—that a new theory like that of Copernicus might easily be made the vehicle of insinuations against the authority of the Church and of holy Scripture; and after all, as we have already said, however confident he might feel as to the truth of that theory, it rested as yet but upon obscure indications and guesses; it was not yet capable of demonstration. Galileo could therefore, with the greatest propriety—nay, more, he was *bound* in Christian charity to his weaker brethren, and as an act of obedience to lawful authority, to—express his contrition that he had made the arguments from the solar spots and from the tides appear conclusive and necessary, when in truth they were eminently inconclusive and capable of refutation; he could also declare that he did not, and never had, held the condemned opinion to be true, that is, demonstratively proved; and he could abjure it as false and heretical, which it was in relation to the then state of Biblical interpretation. And we will venture to say, with confidence, that when he passed out of this world into the next, he was more thankful for having acted in this matter as became a good Christian, than proud of all those brilliant discoveries whereby he had made himself famous as a wise philosopher.

From the evidence, then, which we have adduced—and in stating it we believe that we have not held back a single circumstance of the slightest importance—the following appear to us to be the only legitimate conclusions. First, with reference to the distinguished individual himself with whose story we have been occupied, we think it has been clearly shown that he would never have been molested by the Inquisition or any other Roman tribunal, if he could only have been contented to rest patiently, and to smile at the suspicion and abuse of the populace, so long as he was not condemned by the Holy See; that he had nobody to thank but his own impetuous temper for any inconveniences into which his scientific discoveries may have brought him; and that those inconveniences were, after all, of the slightest possible *character*, consisting chiefly in a humiliating *retractation of his* own theories, which, if it was made in

Christian manner, may have been an abundant source of merit to his soul. Secondly, with reference to the Catholic Church, that she acted throughout in a spirit of true prudence, moderation, and charity; respecting, on the one hand, as long as she was able, the just liberty of her more learned children in the exercise of their intellectual powers, yet, like a tender and compassionate mother, having a due regard, on the other hand, to the weakness of human nature, and protecting the faith of her simpler sons from the rude assaults to which the rashness of physical philosophers would otherwise have exposed it. In the conduct of the Church in this matter we see nothing but proofs of a profound wisdom, and an anxious love of souls; in the conduct of Galileo we see some of the ordinary imperfections of our fallen nature,—a certain degree of over-confidence in self, an impatience of contradiction, and some self-willed obstinacy,—but all kept in check, and preserved from fatal excess, by the gentle yet powerful discipline of the Catholic faith.

N.B. The writer of this Tract has only combined and condensed the facts and arguments which have already been made public in an article of the *Dublin Review* for July 1838, and in another of the *Rambler* for January 1852. In many places he has transcribed whole sentences from them, which he could not hope to express in a form more clear and precise; but he has not thought it necessary, in a tract of this kind, to affix to these sentences the usual marks of a quotation.

Library of Christian Devotion.

FEAST

OF THE

SACRED HEART OF JESUS.

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Feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

If we look at the formularies and articles of faith in use among the greater proportion of what are popularly termed "Orthodox Protestants," we are struck at perceiving the completeness with which some of the chief points of Christian doctrine seem to be preserved amongst them. The great truth of the Incarnation, for instance, is laid down in the articles of the "Church of England" in terms as express as any Catholic could desire; whilst the Athanasian Creed is itself appointed to be frequently recited in her public Liturgy. Yet it is a certain fact that, in spite of this, very few, comparatively, of those belonging to the Established Church have any notion at all of the faith to which that Communion (in words at least) stands pledged. Could the real belief of the vast majority be stated in positive terms, we should find every form of heresy prevailing in regard to the Person and Natures of our Blessed Lord; and, besides these, a mass of vague indefinite ignorance on the subject, which can less be termed misbelief than no belief at all. We do not say this out of any spirit of mere hostility to the Established Church; but how often have we been startled at hearing this subject discussed among good and well-meaning persons, and finding one unable to realise that Christ was God when He was a little baby; another receiving for the first time the idea that He took His human nature with Him into Heaven, and that it is there now, never more to be separated from His Divinity, and not feeling sure if such a thought *be any* thing more than a dreamy fancy; others, again, *reluctant to dwell* much upon the humiliations of His Passion, *because He* was God, and so deeming it uncertain *how much He felt them:* whilst at the very same time, in

spite of their almost exclusive acknowledgment of Him as God, they will shrink with a kind of horror from giving the title of "Mother of God" to His Blessed Mother;—all, in short, with their minds confused and uninformed on points which a Catholic child realises, I had almost said, with the precision of a theologian. Now what is the reason of this difference? If Catholics and Protestants do really on some subjects hold the same doctrine, so far as paper-statements go, why is their living faith on those very points so widely different?

There are probably many reasons; some of a profounder character than it would be fitting to examine here. But there is one I will endeavour to illustrate in this Tract, and of which I am reminded by a beautiful festival now close at hand,—the Festival of the Sacred Heart.

The Catholic Church has many modes of teaching. So indeed have all teachers who understand their business. Very ill will it fare with him who sets to work to learn a foreign language from grammars and dictionaries alone. He cannot do without them; but he will speak but a strange and unknown tongue, though his grammar be the best, if he do not mix with those who speak it, and hear them talk, and catch the accent from their lips. It is the same with all sciences. Books do much, but they cannot teach us all. We can learn a great deal about botany from Withering and Linnæus; but to be perfect, we must go out into the fields, and make familiar acquaintance with the wild flowers in the hedges.

Now these two kinds of teaching are exactly what the Catholic Church, and she alone, possesses. Her creeds and formularies are precise and definite beyond all others; yet she does not trust to them only, for filling the hearts of her people with a living faith. In aid of them she brings into play a vast and varied body of popular devotions, whose object—or rather, to speak more correctly, whose *effect*—is to make one or other of these theological truths familiar and dear to her children. These reach those thousands of people who never look at creeds and articles. *The great mass* of Catholics never read St. Thomas *and know nothing* about the Tridentine decrees; ye

thanks to Processions and Expositions of the Blessed Sacrament, and the frequent use of the Rosary, and Confraternities of the Immaculate Conception, and the Precious Blood, and the Sacred Heart, and many more, they have it all in their souls as distinctly as the greatest doctor of them all. But Protestants are content with binding up their Thirty-nine Articles in the Book of Common Prayer, and have no devotions for the people beyond those daily forms which—in the very few places where they chance to be used—run their dull monotonous round through the whole circle of the year; and the result is, that, even when their written faith is orthodox, they have no means of keeping it alive among the members of their communion. It would truly be a labour of love to take each of those devotions of which we have spoken, one by one, and show something of the sweet and easy ways by which the Church of God teaches high and sublime truths to the little ones of her fold, even when not engaged in the formal act of instructing them, but accidentally, as it were, and by means of the expressive language of her worship. To-day we must be content with a very few words on one of them.

It was in the year 1684 that Sister Margaret Mary Alacoque, a holy nun of the Order of the Visitation, first received the Divine command to propagate the devotion of the Sacred Heart. One day, being before the Blessed Sacrament, she was deeply absorbed in the contemplation of the Divine love displayed in that adorable mystery. At this moment Jesus Christ Himself appeared to her, showing Himself under a sensible form. Then, for the first time, He discovered to her the inexplicable secrets of His Divine Heart, and the treasures of love with which It was consumed for men. "Behold My Heart," He said, "so burning with love for men that, unable to contain within Itself the flames of Its charity, It is compelled to spread them by thy means." This first vision was but the prelude to many others of a similar character: in all of these He appeared, as the representations of the Sacred Heart *have ever since* been wont to depict Him, with flames *issuing from His* adorable Breast, in the midst of which, *as in a furnace,* He displayed His Heart, desiring to com-

municate Its love to the world. "It was in one of these visions," says Sister Margaret, in the simple and beautiful narration she herself gave in obedience to her superiors, "that He revealed the excess of that love which He felt for men, from whom He had received nothing but ingratitude. 'It is this,' He said, 'which I feel more than all I suffered in My Passion: if they returned My love, I should reckon all I had done as nothing; instead of which, I meet only with coldness and repulse. At least do thou atone for their ingratitude as far as thou art able.'" And, on another occasion, He was pleased to appoint the Friday within the octave of Corpus Christi to be set apart as a particular festival in honour of His Sacred Heart, as a reparation for those indignities which are daily offered to It, more especially in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar.

The difficulties to be surmounted in obeying this command were very great, for Margaret Alacoque had no influence and no name; the Church was jealous of novelties, and the love of her children had waxed cold: nevertheless, it is a certain fact, that from that time, in spite of opposition on all sides, the devotion began to spread, confraternities were every where established to propagate it, and had no small share in supporting the influence of the Church during the perilous times of the eighteenth century. And now its boundaries are those of the Catholic Church.

What, then, is the spirit of this devotion? It is, indeed, briefly contained in the few words I have ventured to quote above from Sister Margaret Alacoque's narration: but in the following pages I will endeavour to explain it a little more fully; in other words, to show the particular truth which it expresses, and which, by this outward manifestation of it, it makes familiar to the minds of the people. For you must not imagine that the Church had any new doctrine to teach when she adopted this new devotion, any more than she had a new doctrine to teach about the Blessed Sacrament when she instituted the Festival of Corpus Christi: it is only that from time to time, according to the requirements of the day, and in obedience to the *guidance of* the Holy Spirit who is for ever dwelling *within her, she* takes out of her treasury the truth mo

needful to be remembered, and presses it upon her children's souls by something which associates it with their daily feelings; and so out of a theological truth she makes a familiar and household word.

In the early days of the Church there were some who believed that Christ was man, but denied that He was God; and Mary won her most glorious title in defence of the Divinity of her Son. In later times the Godhead was remembered, and it was the manhood which was forgotten. And in England now, though, indeed, there is Socinianism enough every where, secret and avowed, yet among the great body of what I have called "Orthodox Protestants," the prevailing notion of our Lord has had the same peculiarity of forgetting, and, as it were, overlooking, His Sacred Humanity. How often do we hear Catholic rites and devotions, or particular pictures and expressions, stigmatised as gross, sensual, human, and called by many other hard names, all of which show that the speakers have no true conception of that gospel of a single sentence—"The Word was made flesh."

It is one special object of the devotion to the Sacred Heart to realise the belief embodied in those words. You know that the heart is, as it were, the centre of life and of our humanity, and the seat of our warmest emotions; and, by universal consent, the word is used to express these emotions themselves. Of course, besides this figure of speech, by which we refer certain operations of the soul to the organ by which they act, we also do pay a direct adoration to the actual Heart of Jesus; for, inasmuch as every part of His Sacred Body was intimately united to the Person of the Son of God, in worshipping each part we really worship Him; and therefore the adoration which we pay to each is one with that which we pay to Him. All that I have space for in these pages is, to suggest something of that devotional attitude of mind which it is an object of this devotion to encourage.

And first, in meditating on the sufferings of Christ, I *think I am only* asserting what thousands must understand, *when I say that* the simple contemplation of bodily suffering *loses some* of its power over our affections unless we

take in the thought of the mental woes which accompany them. Not, indeed, that one would any way undervalue that loving contemplation of the Passion which, drawn out as it is into so many beautiful devotions, is the peculiar heritage of Catholics: God forbid. Still, many must have felt that these derive their most tender interest from a profounder source, without which the mere details of two days of bodily anguish would be incomplete. We must not limit our idea of Christ's sufferings within the boundaries of those last two days of His life. Rather let us realise to ourselves the thought of that Sacred Humanity, endued with an intelligence, a purity, an exquisiteness of temperament and sensibility, far beyond our power to conceive; tabernacled among men; associating with the rudest and most sinful of them; reading their hearts, and knowing all their sin. We can never tell what that life upon earth must have been to the Son of God; we know nothing of it; only by comparison can we guess how far it is out of our sight and reach.

We do see, in those among ourselves whose souls are most finely and delicately wrought, how hard a thing it is to live; how the world seems to rub against them at every point, how weary they get of it, and how their great and lofty powers, whilst they elevate them to a height above common men, leave them there, desolate and alone. Yet, though their souls are spent in thirst after God and heaven and perfect things, still the vision of God, and the bliss of heaven, and the touch and possession of perfection, have never yet been theirs. But Jesus "came down from heaven," and was made man. What a life was that! His own Heart burnt with an inexpressible love for us; yet, save in His Blessed Mother, He found no solace or sympathy amongst His creatures, and was grievously misunderstood by His very friends and followers. Then let us only ask ourselves this question: What must sin have been to the Heart of Jesus? What is it to just men amongst ourselves? There have been saints who fainted at its very name; who have known the presence of sinners *by the suffering of* their own frames. This is nothing: to *Jesus it was what* it is to the eye of God. Yet for three

and-thirty years He went up and down amid a world of sin, and gazed into its depths. All the sins of all the world, past, present, and to come, were present to His eye from the first moment of His conception. He loved men with an unutterable love, and knew the millions who would cast away His love and His blood as a worthless thing, and perish in their sins for ever. Yes! He was all-powerful, yet powerless to save men against their will. He was doing an act of infinite love; but for the greater number He knew it would be all in vain, and that the red drops of His agony would fall upon the ground and be wasted, like the idle drops of dew upon the sea-shore. He was going to leave them Himself in a wonderful Sacrament, that He might never be parted from them; and He knew that half the world would mock and not believe Him there, whilst the other half would believe, and yet be cold and neglectful. All over the world He yearned to save, He saw written the one word, *Ingratitude*. There is no Passion like this; yet it was the life-long Passion of the Sacred Heart.

In reminding you, however, of this long interior anguish, which made Jesus the "man of sorrows" during the whole period of his life on earth, I am very far from wishing to turn away your thoughts from the contemplation of those sufferings which surrounded its close, and whose commemoration has ever formed the favourite devotion of His sorrowing Church. The contemplation of Christ's sufferings in His Passion has been the road to heaven for every saintly soul. I only mean that we shall form a very imperfect idea of those sufferings, if, in meditating on them, we *limit* our thoughts to the bodily torment He endured. There is, indeed, no need for us to do this. First in order among the five sorrowful mysteries, and shedding a tenderness and depth of significance over all the rest, we find one, wherein the bodily frame suffered indeed, but only in so far as it sympathised with, and expressed, the far deeper *anguish* of the heart. None of us can ever think to *penetrate into the unknown* Agony of Jesus in the garden. It *was there, in a special* manner, that He bore our infirmities, *suffering from an interior* conflict and the weakness of fear

and desolation, which he spared to His martyrs, but which He endured in His own person to comfort us. There too it was, that He who was without sin was for our sakes "made sin." In some mysterious way it was suffered to come close to His soul, to breathe upon Him, and, as it were, to mingle itself with His consciousness. Its guilt, we know, was never there: yet then, when our iniquities were laid on Him, the defilement of that awful load was, as it were, made His own: and till we learn to sound the purity of God, we can never measure the agony which that purity endured, when in the Humanity of Jesus it was brought into sensible contact with the sins of the whole world. Thus it was that the Sacred Heart first suffered, and first shed Its blood for us, before the nails and lance had done their work. And through every cruel scene that followed, It was still wrung with that twofold agony; a love which thought of us, each one separately, and as it were by name, and yearned over even those whom It was not to save; and to which was also revealed each individual sin that each was to commit,—not in any vague and indefinite way, but with a terrible distinctness; so that we doubt not there were separate pangs for each, moments of suffering which would not have been endured if this sin, and this, and this, had not been committed. And still, through all was His infinite love suffering willingly for the sins from whose defiling presence His infinite purity shrank away.

But besides the sufferings of the Heart of Jesus, there is another treasure wrapped up in our devotion to It, of which we must speak. Our hearts were created to love something; and faith teaches us that this something is God. She teaches that the end of all things is charity, or the love of God: yet so long as our idea of God is separate from a real and vivid faith in the Incarnation, we shall find this love hard and difficult to give. Infinite power, infinite wisdom, infinite goodness, command our worship, but do not with the same facility attract our love; our heart demands another heart. When spiritual books tell us of the danger and sin of loving creatures, their teaching, *seems to our weakness* to be unreal, unless, besides preach*ing detachment*, they also give us an object on which

can set our affections. And when they bid us love God, we feel inclined to answer, Yes, but He is so far above us; we stretch our arms into the great vault of heaven and cannot reach Him. God is indeed infinite goodness and infinite power; and we know by faith that He loves us; yet we feel the want of a human heart, which our very feelings tell us can love us in return. And God has condescended to our weakness. Let the Incarnation be revealed to us, and all our perplexity is at an end. Then, be we never so weary or solitary, the wilderness blossoms. All the heavens look down on us with a human eye; human arms reach down to fold us in that vast embrace. But the Humanity is divine; and whilst the voice that whispers to us, "give me thy heart," has the tenderness of our own nature, we trust it fearlessly; for we know it is the voice of God.

Where there is no real faith in the Incarnation, the notion of God is apt to degenerate into a mere philosophic idea, for which men will neither die nor do penance: but Ignatius tells us all about the secret of martyrdom as he goes to the wild beasts, crying, "My love is crucified." Whilst the craving thirst of our nature cannot be filled with the subtlest and most graceful refinements of Pantheism, we feel that all our wants are satisfied when we can look up with Peter into our Master's face and say, "Lord, Thou knowest all things, Thou knowest that I love Thee."

But the devotion to the Sacred Heart is not all sentiment and feeling. Out of this attitude of mind there arises a new duty,—it is reparation. Directly we accustom ourselves to think much of the sorrows of Jesus, and of the affronts and injuries offered to His love, we burn with the desire to make up for it all by the faithfulness of our own. At such times, it almost seems to us as if He suffered still. Our understandings are far smaller than our hearts: we just get a glimpse of what sin is, and of the outrage it offers to our Lord, and we feel it difficult to *understand how* that which was the torture of His heart on *earth, never now* disturbs the ineffable calm of His blessed-*ness. This, of* course, is but the error of an imperfect *vision. Still,* one thing is certain,—Jesus is robbed of

glory by sin. It does not make Him suffer now; but love goes back those 1800 years, and would make amends for what He suffered then. To love, those throbs of agony on Gethsemane seem to have an eternity about them. We are in some great city, and see God outraged every day. What is our thought of Jesus amid such scenes? His glory seems hard to realise, at the very moment it is being offended; we rather seem to see Him going through the streets pale and bloody, and carrying His cross; and we know our place is to be where the Cyrenian was, and to bear it after Him. To those who have learnt to love the Humanity of their Lord, reparation is the duty of their life. Mortal sins are every day scourging Him, and crucifying Him, and spitting in His face anew; and if His humiliation is not, their malice is, the same. Therefore, the lovers of the Sacred Heart bind themselves to pay back in honour and affection the glory which sinners are taking from their Lord.

This reparation is in a special manner directed towards the most holy Sacrament. The connection between the devotion to the Sacred Heart and that to the Blessed Sacrament dated from the first propagation of the former. It was in one of our Lord's visits to Sister Margaret Alacoque, that He Himself appointed the Friday within the octave of Corpus Christi to be kept as Its festival. And when we think how He is present all day and night amongst us, unloved, unhonoured, save by a very few, it is not wonderful that the desire of reparation of which we have spoken, should chiefly express itself in acts of love towards the Sacrament of love. How close to us is the Heart of Jesus! It beats within our tabernacles. To use the words of the seraphic St. Catherine of Sienna, there He is, "All God, all man, veiled under the whiteness of a little piece of bread." There, within our reach as it were, living in our own homes with us, His Heart abides, waiting for us and desiring our presence. "O miserable soul of mine," cries the same saint, in ecstatic contemplation of this mystery, "hast thou no memory of thy God? Surely thou *canst not have, or* thou wouldst long ago have been consumed *in the furnace* of thy love." But men are not s

consumed, and they do forget. Not to speak of the horrible profanations of which we sometimes hear, it seems to us as if Jesus must be even yet more pained by the cold neglect, and slovenly, niggardly devotion of those, who call themselves the faithful. All this it is our business to repair. If Jesus does not suffer, we are to suffer in His place. Mortal sin will, if we love Him, torture us with something of the anguish with which it tortured Him. We are to try and prevent it with our tears, our labours, and our prayers; and if men still commit it, we know our place is before the tabernacle, to make amends for each new crime and new neglect by some new act of love. And that we may be fit to do so, we have to fill our own hearts with a fire and an energy of love we can learn only in the depths of the Heart of Jesus. He showed It to His servant, as It has ever since been represented, with the flames of that love that could not keep its narrow bounds, bursting out, and seeking, as it were, to kindle the world. It is there that we must go. "O Jesus," again says St. Catherine, "Thou art the light which kindles the fire of our souls, and makes our charity to burn like wood; because, showing us Thy divine goodness, the love which it kindles in us desires to know its God; and that desire Thou satisfiest."

It is even so; we have but to know our God, and to know Him as He manifests Himself in the Humanity of Jesus, and the love is lighted in our hearts which will teach us what we have to do. We shall not learn it by standing far off, with that strange dread of familiarity which Protestants are wont to mistake for reverence, nor by fearing to realise the mysteries of love, not daring to believe them true. The Humanity of Jesus is what It ever was, save that Its suffering is past for ever. He took It with Him to the throne of God, to draw our love there after Him. His love has suffered no change from the glory that surrounds It now: there is a Human Heart in heaven, and Its tenderness is all our own.

Lerey, Robson, and Franklyn, Great New Street and Fetter Lane.

Historical Library.

THE FOREIGN REFORMATION.

No. I.

THE LIFE OF MARTIN LUTHER.

By Permission.

LONDON:
BURNS AND LAMBERT, 17 PORTMAN STREET.
SPAIN, PARK STREET, BRISTOL.

1854.

[Price

N.B. The facts, and occasionally the language, of the following Tract, are taken from Audin's *Life of Luther*, or Michelet's, or Dollinger's.

The Foreign Reformation.

I. The Life of Luther.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century there was only one recognised faith throughout the greater part of Europe. If we except Russia, all the rest of Christian Europe professed the Catholic faith. It is true, indeed, that there were a few followers of the errors of John Wickliffe in our own country; that in the south of France and in the valleys of Piedmont there was a certain number of Waldenses; and that in Bohemia many professed the doctrines that had been lately taught there by John Huss and Jerome of Prague. Still, these, even when all taken together,—and we need hardly say that they were by no means of one mind with one another, their chief point of agreement being their rebellion against the Church,—formed a very inconsiderable minority; *so* inconsiderable as to be scarcely worth noticing. All the rest of Europe, from north to south, and from east to west, were united in one faith; were subject to one authority; were in communion with one central Church, the Church of Rome; and the few individuals in various countries who had separated from this vast body were rejected as heretics by the rest; their opinions had been carefully examined, and condemned by authority; and all men had been warned against following their errors, lest they should become involved in their guilt.

This, I say, was the state of things in the beginning of the sixteenth century, say in the year 1515. But if we *look forward* for a space of fifty or sixty years, how different *is the scene!* England, Scotland, a great par

Germany and of Hungary, Holland, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, are altogether separated from this unity; France is rent and distracted by the civil dissensions caused by the professors of the new doctrines; and the only countries which remain unshaken in the ancient faith are Italy, Ireland, Poland, Spain, and Portugal.

If we inquire into the causes of this great change, we shall be told on all sides that the main instrument in bringing it about was one Martin Luther, once a Catholic priest and a *religious* (that is, a man devoted to a specially religious life in a monastery), but afterwards a Protestant, and indeed, I might almost say, *the first Protestant;* the prime mover in bringing about that change of religion which is commonly known in this country by the name of the Reformation. Thus much will be agreed upon by every body; for, however men may differ as to whether the Reformation should be considered to be the work of God or the work of the devil, yet all will at once acknowledge that, at any rate, the main instrument that was used, either by Almighty God or by the great enemy of mankind, was this Martin Luther.

It becomes, therefore, a matter of considerable importance that we should know something about this man; that we should examine into his private life and character; for this knowledge ought to be of material service to us in judging of the nature of the work in which he took so prominent a part. Protestants, indeed, have sometimes denied this; and have objected, that whether Luther was a good man or a bad one makes very little difference, for that he was clearly the mouth-piece of Heaven in the doctrine which he taught, and that his own private and personal failings cannot destroy, or in any way affect, this Divine mission. This, however, is a sentiment in which few persons will be disposed to agree; it is so entirely contrary to what our own reason would teach us to expect, and what all history proclaims. God has often made use *of men* of irregular and wicked lives, of heretics, and even *of the heathen, to punish the sins* of His children; but *when He raises* up men in an extraordinary manner, as the *Prophets of old* and the Apostles, and many of their suc-

cessors in later times, to be the preachers of His word, to do a great work in His Church, to reveal some portion of His will to mankind, or to bring back His people to a stricter observance of His law, He never fails to qualify them accordingly: He endows them with all those gifts and graces which fit the messengers of God, and are necessary for the success of their mission. He uses bad men to be the *scourges* of His people; but not to be their *teachers*, and the *reformers* of their manners.

Look at all the holy men, the great missionaries, or the founders of religious orders, who have risen up in the Church from time to time, to repair the gradual decays of Christian morality, to reform abuses, and to lead men to greater strictness and purity of life; and you will see that they were all good and powerful in their *works* as well as in their words. Like our Blessed Lord Himself, they taught by example as well as by precept; they "began both to *do* and *teach*" (Acts i. 1). The virtues that shone in their actions (and, we may add, the miracles which they wrought) were their credentials; and it was impossible to witness the pure and holy lives which they led, without being powerfully moved towards a belief in the truth of the doctrines which they taught. Moreover, they prepared themselves for the great work to which they were called—the conversion of sinners—by retirement, by prayer and fasting, by the exercise of meekness and humility, and all the other Christian virtues. They thoroughly brought into subjection their own evil passions, and in every way *reformed themselves* before they undertook to *reform others*.

Let us see, then, how far the head and leader of the Protestant Reformation observed this rule; let us try the character of that great event by the character of its principal author, Martin Luther. In the Catholic Church, every religious order (or family, so to call it) points to its own particular head or founder as the model of Christian virtue which, next to that of their Lord and Saviour, and of His Blessed Mother, they propose to themselves to imitate. The Jesuits, for instance, would not object to have *their order judged* and valued according to the life and *character of St.* Ignatius Loyola; the highest ambition

a Dominican, or a Franciscan, would be that he might resemble his spiritual father, St. Dominic, or St. Francis; and I suppose that, much in the same way, a Wesleyan minister would not be very dissatisfied with himself if he could believe that he were following very closely in the steps of John Wesley; or a Quaker, if he were told that he was very like George Fox. Why, then, should Protestants, as a body, complain if we apply the same rule to *them* also, and judge of Protestantism altogether by its first and most famous specimen? At any rate, this is what we are going to do, and it seems to us a most reasonable mode of acting; and in order that we may not be accused of unfairness in our mode of using it, we propose, as far as possible, to let him speak for himself. He shall be his own biographer, and we will form our estimate of his character from his own letters and other writings.

Martin Luther was born of humble parentage in Eisleben, in the county of Mansfeld, in Saxony, in the year 1843. When he was only six or seven years old, his father (who was a miner) sent him to school at Eisenach, where he used to sing in the streets for a livelihood, as was a common practice at that time with poor German students. He seems to have manifested, even in his earliest years, that temper of unbending obstinacy for which he was so remarkable throughout his whole life; at least a story is told of his having been whipped by his schoolmaster fifteen times in the same morning! When he was about eighteen years of age he entered the University of Erfurdt, where he was supported by his father, who evidently entertained a very high opinion of his son's talents, and who destined him, therefore, for the study of the law; a profession which, in that day, was a path to the most lucrative offices both in Church and State. An accident, however, which happened about four years afterwards, turned the young man's life into quite a new channel. A friend of his was struck dead by lightning at his side, as they were walking together round the town of Erfurdt. Luther uttered a cry; and that cry was a vow to St. Anne to turn monk. The danger over, he made no attempt to elude a

vow into which he had been thus surprised by an impulse of momentary terror. He regarded the stroke which he had so narrowly escaped as a threat and command from Heaven; and within a fortnight afterwards, on the 17th of July, 1505, after having spent a pleasant evening with his friends at a musical party, he entered the cloister of the Augustinians at Erfurdt, taking with him only two books (the works of two heathen poets, Plautus and Virgil), and half repenting within himself the hasty vow he had made. The next day he wrote to various persons, bidding them farewell; and amongst the rest to his father, whom he had not before informed of the step he was about to take; and then he shut himself up in the most rigid seclusion for a month. At the end of this time, marks of absence of mind bordering on insanity were observed in him; and his prudent superiors, in order to draw off his attention from those subjects on which they were so rigidly fixed—the last judgment, hell, the devil, and eternal punishments—commanded him to devote himself to the study of Greek.

Two years afterwards, in the month of May, 1507, he was made priest; and his father was with great difficulty persuaded to be present at his ordination. The unhappy man himself appears to have received holy orders without any real attraction towards this high and heavenly calling; but only from that spirit of dogged perseverance or obstinacy, of which we have already spoken, whereby he was determined, at whatever cost, always to go through with any thing he had once begun. We have seen the baggage of heathen literature which he took with him into the cloister, and which certainly did not indicate a very ecclesiastical temper of mind; and many years afterwards he said of himself, with reference to this period of his life, "I did not turn monk voluntarily. Terrified by a sudden apparition, surrounded by death, and conceiving myself summoned by Heaven, I made an inconsiderate and forced vow. When I told my father of this, he was at first highly irritated; and when he was pacified, he exclaimed, 'God grant that this be not a trick of Satan's!' a saying which *has struck such deep* root in my heart, that I never heard any *thing from his* mouth which I remember more tenacious

Methinks God spoke by his lips. However, at that time I was so obdurate in my devotional intent that I shut my heart as much as I could against his words, as being only of man." And again, he says, with reference to his entrance on the priesthood, "When I said my first Mass at Erfurdt, I was all but dead, for I was without faith; it was unjust, and too great forbearance in God, that the earth did not at the time swallow up both myself and the bishop who ordained me."

In the following year he was appointed, at the recommendation of his superiors, professor of logic and ethics in the newly-founded University of Wittemberg; but he very soon passed from this to the professorship of theology, which was more in accordance with his tastes. In the year 1516, he edited an old mystic work of the fourteenth century called the *German Theology*, which contained many speculative problems that were at variance with the teaching of the Church. Moreover, he already began to depart from that teaching on one of the most important points of doctrine, that which has the most practical bearing upon all the details of Christian life, the dogma of man's justification. We need not enter here into any examination of the new doctrine which he taught upon this subject, and which is so well known as the doctrine of justification by faith only; we will but observe that it seems to have been the result of the torturing and comfortless state of mind under which he had been long suffering. We have seen how he came to embrace the monastic state; and although he appears to have given himself up to its ascetical exercises with all the energy of his vehement character, yet the revelations which he has made to us concerning the state of his soul at that time, sufficiently explain why these exercises did him no good; and why there arrived, by and by, a period of complete discouragement and despair, which ended by a change to the very contrary of asceticism. Even now, whilst yet a Catholic and a monk, he displayed that remarkable propensity to an unnatural and *morbid distortion of* Christian ideas and sentiments, and *of thoughts that* were in themselves true, which was so *striking a characteristic* of his later life; and which has

caused many charitable persons to apologise for his whole career, on the plea of partial insanity. He assures us, for example, that when he was at Rome (whither he had been sent on some business of his order), he was sorry that his parents were not dead, in order that he might have been able to deliver their souls from purgatory by his Masses; and he even says, that if he had found an opportunity, he might, in his religious fanaticism, have become a most cruel murderer. Moreover, he tells us that at that time, besides temptations to lust, he was particularly unable to overcome emotions of rage, hatred, and envy; that he had no love of God; that when he was doing penance, the words in which he used to express this love were mere words, and nothing else; that he was such an enemy to Christ, that when he saw a picture or image of Him hanging on the cross, he was terrified at it, cast down his eyes, and would sooner have seen the devil, &c. &c.

Now all these things are not the inventions of his enemies; they are his own confessions about himself; and they are either true or false: if false, how is he to be believed in any assertions which he makes about others, when he does not even speak the truth concerning himself? if true, then I think it would be only charitable to conclude that he was not altogether in his right mind. At any rate, it is not difficult to understand how a man of this undisciplined character must sometimes have been brought to a state of most gloomy despondency, and at other times puffed up with the most self-satisfied conceit, as he himself tells us that he was; and how at last he did not shrink from inventing a doctrine that should suit his own personal circumstances, and provide him with the consolation he desired. I say *inventing*, because it really was nothing short of this; though, of course, he flattered himself that he had discovered it in the Bible; just as every other inventor of new doctrine fancies that he has discovered in that sacred book the warrant for his errors.

As early as the years 1515 and 1516 Luther began to teach his doctrine in public; at least persons began about *that time to speak of* "a new theology that had entered on *the paths of error.*" As yet, however, he was not aware

the full consequences of his erroneous opinions. He did not see how intimately it affected all the dogmas, institutions, and practices of the Catholic faith. The events of the day soon forced this knowledge upon him, and then his rebellion against the Church became more open and attracted more followers.

It happened that Pope Leo X. was just now engaged in building the magnificent church of St. Peter in Rome, which had been begun by his predecessor Julius II., and was to be the largest and most splendid church in Christendom. So vast a building would necessarily cost a great deal of money; and all Christians were invited to contribute towards it, indulgences being granted to those who gave willingly and with a good intention. An indulgence is, as you know, a remission of the temporal punishment due to sin, after the guilt and eternal punishment of sin has been remitted by the Sacrament of Penance;* and the Church has always granted indulgences to the performance of good works and acts of charity. Of course, the Sacrament of Penance is of more value than an indulgence, in proportion as eternity is of more importance than time. Still, it is a great benefit to obtain a remission even of temporal punishment; and whenever the Popes have exercised the spiritual powers intrusted to them for this purpose, and have offered an indulgence to be gained on the fulfilment of certain conditions, the bishops have always ordered the clergy to proclaim it to the people. On occasion of this particular indulgence of which we are now speaking, the Archbishop of Mentz (to whose province the town of Erfurdt belonged) commissioned the priests of the Dominican order to announce it, and to receive all the contributions that might be made in consequence, whereas it had been usual before this time to intrust affairs of this kind to the Augustinians. It was only natural that the Augustinians should have been annoyed by this preference given to another order, and that they should have been thereby rendered more keenly alive to any errors or imperfections into which the Dominicans might fall in the discharge of their new duties. nd it is very possible that some of the preachers may have

* See Tract 59 of this Series on Indulgences.

been carried away by an excess of enthusiasm for the cause in which they were engaged, so as to have been guilty of exaggeration in their mode of recommending the indulgence. As a matter of fact, however, we do not believe what Luther has said upon this subject; for it seems certain that Tetzel, against whom Luther and his followers urged the most vehement accusations, was a holy and ascetic man and a well-instructed theologian, who announced the indulgence according to the true sense of the Church. At the very beginning of his mission, he printed a brief explanation of the meaning of an indulgence, a copy of which is still extant; and in it the doctrine is simply and clearly taught according to the true teaching of all Catholic theologians. Indeed Luther himself, when he first addressed the Archbishop of Mentz on the subject, seems to acknowledge this; for he says, "I do not so much object to the declamations of the preachers of the indulgence, as to the erroneous idea entertained of it by the poor, simple, and unlearned, who are every where openly avowing their foolish imaginations on the subject. They fancy that souls will be delivered from purgatory as soon as their money clinks in the papal coffer. They believe the indulgence to be powerful enough to save the greatest sinner, &c. &c." Now if this was really true, if the poor, simple, and unlearned really entertained such notions as these, there was nothing to prevent Martin Luther, or any other priest, from teaching them more correctly the true Catholic doctrine; there was no necessity to make a grand disturbance, and to rebel against the authority of the Church; they need only have preached publicly and distinctly, that in order to gain the offered indulgence it was necessary not only to make a contribution of alms, but also to do this from a right motive, to have a true spirit of repentance and a hearty contrition for their sins, and so forth.

But instead of doing this, Luther, as soon as the indulgence was being preached in the neighbourhood of Wittemberg (where, as we have seen, he was established as a professor), set himself most violently against it, and proceeded to *take the most* unwarrantable steps in the way of open *rebellion. He first* applied to his own bishop; and failin

to persuade him, he next wrote a very long letter to the Archbishop of Mentz, from which I have already quoted one or two passages. This letter was dated the 31st of October, 1517; and as if to show the factious spirit by which he was animated, he did not wait to receive any answer to this missive, but proceeded on the very same day to publish certain theses or propositions on the subject, which he affixed to the door of the church of the Castle of Wittemberg; and on the next morning (All Saints' Day) he preached a violent sermon to the people, in which he publicly maintained these theses.

In his letter to the archbishop, he had addressed him as a "Venerable Father in God and most illustrious prince;" had begged him "to vouchsafe to cast a favourable eye upon him who was but dust and ashes, and to receive his request with pastoral kindness;" and he concluded with these words: "Be pleased, noble and venerable father, *to read and take into consideration* the following propositions, in which is shown the vanity of the indulgences which the preachers give out as a certainty." Yet on the very same day on which he made this profession of submitting his propositions to the consideration of the archbishop, he publicly declared his intention of maintaining them, and caused a copy to be fastened upon the church doors, in which he declared that "Christians ought to be taught, that unless they have a superfluity, they should keep their money for their family, and lay out nothing upon their sins;" that "the Pope, whose treasures at the present moment exceed the most enormous treasures, ought to build a single church, the basilica of St. Peter's, with his own money, rather than with that of the poor faithful," &c. Lastly, in his public sermon to the people, he not only severely censured the real or pretended abuses which he said had crept into the Church, but he misrepresented the Church's doctrine of indulgences; and if he did not actually set it on one side, yet at least he put it in a very doubtful *light, and told* the people that they were not to contribute to *the building of* St. Peter's, either to gain the indulgences, or *from any other* motive. We have only to add, that Luther *himself afterwards* acknowledged, in looking back over his

past life, that at this time "he hardly knew what indulgences were;" and I think we have in this history,—in this first act (so to call it) of the terrible tragedy of the rebellion against the Church—a very faithful representation of Luther's character, as it was afterwards more clearly exhibited by every thing he did or wrote; we see the overweening opinion which he entertained of himself and of his own knowledge; his arrogance in setting at nought the authority of tradition and of the Church, and his contempt of all other theologians who did not approve of his doctrine. And from these small beginnings proceeded the great heresy and apostasy, whereby so many millions of souls have been lost to the Church and to God.

When Tetzel heard of the sermon, he delivered a confutation of it from the pulpit, going over Luther's arguments point by point. He did this without sarcasm, or any thing personally offensive to the unfortunate man whom he was answering, but in serious and dignified language, such as becomes the teacher of God's truth. Nevertheless Luther only scoffed at it, and said he "cared as little for it as for the braying of an ass." This was the way in which he always endeavoured to expose his adversaries to the low merriment of the people, however exalted they might be in station, or venerable for character and learning; and it was a very important element in attaching the populace to his side.

When the noise of the controversy reached Rome, the Pope is said to have looked upon it at first as a matter of very trifling importance; and a letter which he received from Luther himself would naturally contribute to strengthen him in this impression; for in this letter, which was written about six months after the sermon we have spoken of, Luther professed the utmost respect for his Holiness, and declared that he submitted himself unreservedly to his decision. "Most holy Father,"—these were his own words,—"I throw myself at the feet of your Holiness, and give myself up to you with all that I am or have. May your Holiness dispose of me at your pleasure; *it rests with* your Holiness to promote or prevent my undertaking, *to* declare it right or wrong. Whatever be

pens, I desire nothing more than to know that the voice of your Holiness is the voice of Christ, who speaks and acts through you." Very shortly afterwards, however, one of the Dominicans in Rome having written against the new doctrines, Luther made such a furious reply, that he was immediately cited to appear at Rome within sixty days. The Elector of Saxony, that is, the ruling sovereign of the country to which Luther belonged, persuaded the Pope to dispense with his personal appearance in answer to this citation, and that, instead of going to Rome, he might be allowed to plead his cause before a Cardinal Legate at Augsburg. This was done, but without any beneficial results. The Cardinal refused to hear any discussion, and required of him a simple retractation, which he declined to make, protesting that he appealed to the Pope when better informed; and so the conference ended. He returned to Wittemberg, where negotiations were still carried on for a considerable time with another ambassador from the Pope.

On the 31st of March, 1519, Luther wrote a letter to his Holiness, in which he "calls God and man to witness that he has never wished, and does not now desire, to touch the Roman Church, or the Pope's sacred authority; and that he acknowledges most explicitly that this Church rules over all, and that nothing in heaven or in earth is superior to it, save only Jesus Christ our Lord." Yet only ten days afterwards, he writes in another letter to a friend, "I am not sure whether the Pope is Antichrist himself, or only the Apostle of Antichrist!" The truth is, that a terrible struggle was now going on within him, between his still remaining respect for ecclesiastical authority on the one hand, and his personal pride and attachment to his own opinions on the other. At a later period of his life, he said of himself that he was in such a state of mind at this time as to be almost out of his senses; that he was scarcely conscious whether he were awake or asleep; and *that it was not* without a severe struggle and great difficulty *that he* finally conquered his conviction that he *ought to* "hear the Church." As late as the 15th of *January, 1520,* he wrote to the newly-elected Emperor,

declaring that he would die a true and obedient Son of the Catholic Church, and expressing his willingness to submit to the decision of all the universities whose impartiality could not be suspected. But in proportion as he found the authority of the Church and of learned universities ranged against him, exactly in the same proportion did his adhesion to his own opinions grow more and more obstinate. The theological faculties of Paris, Louvaine, and Cologne, condemned his doctrines; the Pope himself issued a bull, in which his errors were denounced in forty-one propositions, some of which were qualified as evidently heretical, and others as rash and scandalous. And now his wrath no longer knew any bounds of moderation. He immediately published a pamphlet *Against the Execrable Bull of Antichrist;* and on the 10th of December, 1520, publicly burnt the bull at the gates of the city of Wittemberg in the presence of all the students, throwing into the same fire all the Pope's books which he could collect, together with the works of St. Thomas Aquinas and other Catholic theologians. In the public notice which he caused to be drawn up of these proceedings, he says, "If any one ask me why I have done this, my reply is, that it is an ancient practice to burn bad books. The Apostles burnt 5000 deniers' worth of them."

After this, the Emperor summoned him to appear at Worms before the Imperial Diet, that is, a sort of general congress, at which were to be present, besides the Emperor, six Electors (such as the Elector of Saxony), one prince, one archduke, twenty-seven dukes, and numbers of counts, archbishops, and bishops; in all, upwards of 200 personages. Luther joyfully accepted this citation; his journey to the appointed place was like a public triumph; in the assembly itself, being conscious of his increasing popularity, he behaved with the utmost confidence, and firmly declined either to recant or to explain his opinions, professing to appeal to the Bible and to his own conscience; and even refusing to leave the decision of the matters in dispute to *a council*, unless it founded its sentence on text *of scripture;* meaning, of course, on his interpretation *these texts.* On his return from Worms, he was, by

orders of his friend the Elector of Saxony, and with his own consent, taken to the Castle of Wartburg, where he lived for some time, disguised as a knight, busily engaged in writing against Catholic doctrine, and otherwise promoting the great and terrible work on which he was now irrevocably embarked.

His separation from the Church, her doctrine, her public worship, and her constitution, was now complete; so that he had scarcely any thing to add in later years to the construction of his new Church. By various means, he had attracted men of all classes to espouse his cause. The princes, nobility, and municipal authorities, many of whom were deeply involved in debt, he had flattered by representing that the hundredth part of the existing ecclesiastical property was sufficient for the support of a Church; so that, if the new doctrines should spread, there would be an abundance of rich booty to be divided amongst them. He had also issued numberless letters and other writings composed with consummate skill, in which, for the first time, the whole ecclesiastical system and its alleged imperfections were discussed in a popular style, interlarded with frequent quotations from the Bible, yet equally calculated to be read in public-houses and the market-places as from the pulpits of churches. Moreover, the whole character of the new system of doctrine had in itself a still more powerful influence for its propagation than any external measures whatever. "Oh, it was a splendid doctrine," wrote one who lived in those days, "no longer to fast, no longer to pray, no longer to go to confession, no longer to give in charity and to make offerings, &c. &c. Ought you not by such means as these to have enticed and drawn to your net two Germanies instead of one? For, if you let a man have his own way, it is easy to gain him."

To return, however, to the personal history of Luther; for my present object is rather to give you some idea of the man himself, in his private character, than to tell you *all the mischief* which he did in the world. We left him *in the Castle of* Wartburg, where he remained for several *months, by no* means dissatisfied with his residence. In *ne of the books* which he wrote here, he tells us what a

severe conflict he had with his conscience before he could persuade himself to look upon the Pope as Antichrist and the bishops as his emissaries; that his heart often trembled and suggested to him—"What, if after all, you should be in error, and leading so many people into error, who, through you, will all be eternally damned?" It was probably this anxious uncertainty which so unsettled his mind and excited his imagination as to make him fancy that he heard all sorts of strange noises in the night, that the castle was haunted by devils, &c. &c. Alas! that the doubts and misgivings by which his conscience was thus troubled should only have been strong enough to disturb his slumbers, and not to make him turn back from his sinful course. But instead of retreating, he only made further progress in the downward path of error; after considerable hesitation, he at length attacked with all the natural vehemence of his character the celibacy of the clergy and the vows of a monastic life, bidding them "return to the freedom of Christian faith;" that is, to break the solemn vows they had made. In this matter, however, he seems rather to have followed than led the movement which was hurrying men away from the ancient paths. In writing to one of his friends, in August 1521, he exclaimed, "Good God! will our Wittemberg folk make even the monks marry? For my part, they will not get me to take a wife. Be you also on your guard against marrying, that you may not fall into the tribulation of the flesh." But a few months later he had adopted the views of these "Wittemberg folk," and writing about Melancthon and himself he says, "We have now conspired in right earnest to annihilate monastic and priestly vows."

It was about this time also, that other "reformers" began to take the lead, and go far beyond any thing which Luther had yet taught. The Anabaptists made their appearance in the very neighbourhood of Wittemberg, rejecting the baptism of infants on the same grounds and with the same right as Luther had already rejected other sacraments and institutions of the Church. Carlstadt also and *his followers began* to destroy the pictures in the churches *to throw down* the altars, carry away the confession

&c. For some time Luther affected to despise these things. "I quit not my retreat," he writes on the 7th of January, 1522; "I budge not for these prophets; they little move me." Nevertheless, two months afterwards he hastened from this retreat (of Wartburg), and arrived at Wittemberg on the 7th of March; where, being supported by the Elector, he contrived to have Carlstadt prohibited from preaching or publishing, and even obliged him to leave the town. I shall have occasion elsewhere to speak more in detail concerning this strife between Luther and his former friend and disciple. At present I will only mention that the strife was daily embittered by the fearful symptoms of general disturbance which threatened Germany, and in which Luther bore a part very far from creditable. He has been accused, indeed, of having himself designedly excited the peasants to this rebellion; but of this we have no historical proof. What is beyond dispute is, that he had declared every one to be a child of God and a true Christian who, either by his arms or by his money, should help to destroy the Bishops and the whole form of the ecclesiastical hierarchy; that he had spoken of the danger of a rebellion, and had looked forward to the outbreak of it with expressions of pleasure and joy. The nobles distinctly accused him of being the author of these troubles; the peasantry, on the other hand, made use of his name, and were so satisfied of his sympathy with their cause, as to invoke him as an umpire between themselves and their enemies. Under these circumstances, he published a work (in May, 1525) entitled an "Exhortation to Peace," in which he first gave utterance to the most exaggerated accusations against the bishops and Catholic princes, and then commanded the peasants (who were already in arms) "to submit with patience, because it was forbidden in the Holy Scriptures to oppose force by force." Of course, it is impossible that he should have expected this advice to be attended to; it was manifestly too late; the war had *broken out;* and as soon as Luther heard of the defeat of *the peasants, he* wrote another work, in which he exhorted *the princes to slaugh*ter the people without mercy, for that *his was a time* not for patience and mildness, but for the

sword and fury; every one ought to strike, and slay, and stab; for "the wonderful time was arrived when a prince could more easily gain heaven by shedding blood than others by saying prayers. I am of opinion," he said, "that all the peasants must perish, since they take up the sword without divine authority. They deserve no mercy, no toleration, but the indignation of God and man. They are under the ban of God and of the Emperor, and may be treated as mad dogs."

It was in the midst of the storms and bloodshed of this civil war, that Luther amazed even his most intimate friends, and shocked his most ardent admirers, by a hasty marriage with one Catherine Bora, a nun who had eloped from her convent about two years before, and appears to have been living under his protection ever since. Only a few days before this marriage, whilst writing to the cardinal and elector of Mayence, and exhorting him to marry, he had said that he had not married himself, only because he feared he was not qualified for marriage; and what induced him subsequently to change his mind, and to take this sudden step in so extraordinary a manner, has never been clearly ascertained. His own explanations in his letters, written immediately afterwards, are far from being satisfactory. In one place he says that the rebellion of the peasants had caused his doctrine to be so much suspected by many, that he had married a nun in order to bear practical testimony to it; that is, to show that he was not ashamed of it, spite of its bloody fruits, but meant to persevere to the end. In another place he refers to the necessity of "stopping the mouths of those who propagated evil reports against him and Bora, on account of the relation in which they stood to each other;" and elsewhere again, he says that the Lord threw him into marriage with the nun suddenly, and whilst he was thinking of quite different things, and that he must now endure disgrace and slander on account of this work of God.

Whether this marriage was "the work of God" we may be allowed to doubt; but, any how, it is certain that it *brought Luther* into considerable disgrace. His letters *of this period* abound in coarse and offensive expression

concerning his married state, too disgusting to be reproduced here; but beneath all this defiance and this apparently light consideration of the step he had taken, there was a very real and humiliating consciousness that he had inflicted a severe wound on his own personal reputation. "The two or three succeeding years," says one of his most recent biographers, "are a sort of eclipse in his life;" in which we find him for the most part occupied with household cares and anxiety about his future family. He was also about this time often seriously indisposed both in body and mind; and even when sound in body, he yet suffered most acutely, he tells us, from temptations to blasphemy and despair. "For nearly three months," he writes in October 1527, "I have been growing weaker, not in body, but in mind; to such a degree that I can scarcely write these few lines: this is Satan's doing;" and in the next month he says, "Oh, would to God that Erasmus and the Sacramentarians (with whom he had been engaged in controversy) could undergo, were it only for a quarter of an hour, all the misery of my heart." These fits of wretched despondency were far from passing off as he grew older, and more and more confirmed in his Protestantism. On the contrary, they seem rather to have increased, chiefly owing to the controversies, in which he found himself continually embroiled with some who had formerly been his friends and disciples, but who had now become more Protestant than himself. "Wherefore should I be provoked with the Papists?" he asks. "They make open war upon me; we are declared enemies. But they who do me most evil are my dearest children, my own brothers, my special friends dear to me as gold; they who, if Luther had not written, would have known nothing of Christ and the Gospel, and would never have thrown off the Papal yoke. I thought that I had by this time suffered and exhausted every calamity; but my Absalom, the child of my heart, had not yet deserted his father, had not yet covered David with shame. My Judas, the terror of the disciples of Christ, the traitor who delivered up his Master, had not yet sold me; and now all this has befallen me." And again: "Oh, how painful it is to lose a good and

dearly-loved friend! This man used to be my guest, my companion, and would laugh and make merry with me, and now he turns against me . . . . Who could have dreamed of this sect? . . . . I have got over three cruel storms. But there is to be no end of writing, it seems. I do not wish to live long, for there is no peace to be hoped for." In a word, it happened to Luther as it has happened to every other teacher of heresy since the foundation of the Church, that, as he separated from the visible Communion of the faithful, and led a certain number of followers away after him, so these in turn separated from him, each one setting up a new doctrine and a new communion for himself.

Nor was this the only trouble which embittered the life of Luther. He had not even the false and delusive peace which fanatics have sometimes enjoyed, of a firm undoubting confidence in the truth of his own opinions, and the Divine origin of the mission in which he was engaged. Often indeed he did not hesitate to profess in public the most infallible certainty on these subjects. He declared again and again that he had received his doctrine from heaven and by Divine inspiration; that he was certain his words were not his own, but those of Christ; that his mouth was the mouth of Christ; that Christ had called him to be an evangelist; that he was the greatest teacher who had ever appeared among Christians since the time of the apostles; and that whosoever did not accept his doctrine would infallibly be damned. Nevertheless, when left to himself and to solitary communing with his own conscience, this affectation of confidence gave way, and we find him tortured with doubts concerning the truth of the doctrine which he taught. When one of his ministers once complained to him that he could not believe what he preached, Luther replied, "Thank God that others are like myself! I thought such things happened to me alone." And on another occasion he said, "It strikes me that St. Paul could not have thought on this subject as firmly as he spoke. I myself, unhappily, cannot make my faith equal *to what I preach*, speak, and write on the matter, or to *what others suppose* of me."

Moreover, he had a very depressing consciousness, to which he several times gave utterance, that he had sunk lower, and was become colder, in a moral point of view, since his separation from the Church, than he was before. "Whence comes it," his wife inquired of him one day, "that under the Papacy we prayed so often and so fervently, whilst now we pray so coldly and so seldom?" To which Luther replied: "The devil is ever at his servants (the Papists) to make them diligent in their worship of him." At another time he acknowledged the same fact, but without adding his impious explanation of it: "I myself confess," he said, "and without doubt others also must confess, that I am wanting in that diligence and earnestness which I now ought to have more than before, and that I am much more remiss than formerly under the Papacy; and there is at present no where to be found such earnestness in the Gospel as was formerly to be seen amongst priests and monks." And again, writing to one of his disciples on occasion of the plague at Magdeburg, he tries to account for the remarkable fact, which he says he has observed for some years, that those who embrace the doctrines of the Reformation have a much greater dread of death than those who adhere to the ancient faith: "I am surprised to see that the more life in Christ Jesus is preached, the stronger grows the fear of death."

No doubt the consciousness of facts like these contributed very much to make him so extraordinarily impatient of contradiction. It was not only his natural pride, but also his own secret misgivings about himself, which caused him to burst forth into such extravagantly violent and abusive language against all who ventured to offer opposition to his doctrine; for nothing is more common than to find those men most loud in their abuse and condemnation of others who are really the most troubled by doubts and uncertainty about themselves. However, be the cause what it may, the fact is certain, that the gross intemperance and the coarseness of Luther's language against his adversaries far surpasses any thing that the world had ever yet heard from the lips of a professed Christian teacher. It has been said, indeed, that Luther, in this respect, did but con-

form to a bad custom which was then universally prevalent; every one, however, who is acquainted with the literature of the period and of that which immediately preceded it knows the contrary. The low buffoonery and coarse personal invectives with which Luther's writings were filled, had never been heard of among scholars and theologians before his time, and excited universal astonishment. He seems himself to have considered this style of arguing particularly effective, yet in his better moments to have been almost ashamed of it. "When roused to anger," he says, "I become firmer and more keen in my wit; all my temptations and enemies are put to flight; I never write or speak better than when in anger." But at another time he says, "I cannot deny that I was more violent than I need have been; but they know it, and should not have provoked the dog." And again, "I confess that I have often been more rough and violent than religion and my gown warrant; but I do not give myself out for a saint."

Another feature in the character of Luther, nearly akin to this, was the overbearing pride and arrogance with which he behaved towards his brother reformers. His friends used to complain bitterly of the oppressive tyranny he exercised over them, and occasionally tried to stir one another up to raise some kind of barrier against it. Thus, Calvin wrote to Melancthon in these words: "We owe much to Luther, I own, and we will readily allow him very considerable authority, provided he knows how to govern himself; nevertheless, it is high time now that we should bethink ourselves how much deference in the church ought to be given to men. All is lost when one man alone has more power than all the rest, particularly if he be a man who does not shrink from using the full extent of his power. And certainly we leave a strange example to posterity, as long as we show that we would rather give up our liberty than, by the least offence, provoke a single man. His temper, you will say, is violent, and all his motions impetuous; as if his violence did not greatly increase by all the world's thinking of nothing else but how to humour him. Let us *for once dare to fetch* one free sigh." Melancthon himself *wrote to another* reformer, saying, "Although in your

time the slavery here was bad enough, yet since that time Luther is become still worse; . . . . he has substituted a yoke of iron for one of wood." A third of these Protestant theologians complains that "it is scarcely possible for any of us to avoid incurring Luther's displeasure, and to escape being publicly reprimanded by him." And a fourth says that "there are now two popes—the Pope of Rome and Luther; but the last is the most grievous." In a word, it seems impossible to exaggerate the pride and arrogance of this great Protestant leader, this reformer of the Christian Church; and yet surely it would be difficult to name any vice more thoroughly at variance with the true Christian temper. What then shall we think of the fitness of such a man to be a guide and a model for others?

But we have not yet mentioned what is perhaps the worst feature of all in the character of Luther, considered as a teacher of morals, and that is the gross licentiousness of his conversation and doctrine on all that concerned the virtue of purity. His "Table-talk" contains discourses on this subject which would have disgraced an orgy of debauchees; nay, even the language which he used in a public sermon in Wittemberg, six or seven years before his death, is so disgusting that I dare not quote it here; it is not fit for any Christian to read, and yet this *Reformer* did not hesitate to preach it from the pulpit. Suffice it to say, that he was the first person, since the foundation of the Christian Church, who propounded the doctrine that man is the slave of his natural propensities, and cannot resist them; that it is no more possible to live without a wife than without eating and drinking; that the command to marry is not only a duty, but is more strictly binding on a man's conscience than those precepts of the decalogue which forbid murder and adultery. Nor was this all; nobody ever yet denied the virtue of continence and chastity who did not also, when opportunity offered, go on to show that his estimate of the sanctity of marriage fell far short *of the* Christian standard. As early as the year 1524, *Luther had confessed* that he was not prepared to say "that *polygamy (or* having more than one wife) is contrary to *Holy Scripture;* yet I would not have the practice in-

troduced amongst Christians, because they ought to abstain even from what is lawful, in order to avoid scandal and to maintain that decorum which St. Paul requires under all circumstances." Three years later he writes, "Polygamy is not allowable amongst Christians, except in cases of absolute necessity,—as when a man is forced to separate from a leprous wife, &c." Twelve years later still, he was called upon to sanction it in a very different case, and for a very different reason. The permission which he, and Melancthon, and Bucer, and four other *Reformers*, gave to Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse, to marry a second wife during the lifetime of his first (by whom he had had seven or eight children), is a feature in the history of the Reformation abundantly sufficient to open the eyes of all who would not wilfully deceive themselves as to the true character of that terrible apostasy. The circumstances of the case were as follows: Philip drew up a formal document containing his reasons for wishing to take a second wife; and this document he commissioned Bucer to lay before Luther, Melancthon, and others, that they might take counsel together upon the subject, and give him the permission he required. His reasons were such as these: that he had never truly loved his first wife, and had, therefore, been living in adultery ever since his marriage; that his pastors had frequently exhorted him to partake of the holy Eucharist, but that he dared not do so, because he *would* not abandon these evil habits; that they had also urged him to punish crimes against public morality,—such as fornication and the like,—but that he was quite unable to do so, since the criminals might turn round and say, "Master, begin with yourself;" that he was liable to be called upon to take up arms for the cause of the Gospel, yet that he should be afraid to obey the call, lest if he were killed he should go to the devil [these are his own words]. He then goes on to say, that with his present wife, he neither *can* nor *will* change his way of living, *whereof he takes God to witness;* so that he can find no means of amendment but by the remedy which God allowed to the *Jewish people of old*, viz. polygamy; wherefore he begs of *Luther, Melancthon*, and Bucer, that they would give h

a certificate that such a thing is lawful; only, if they apprehend that such a certificate, should it get into print, might give scandal at this time and prejudice the Gospel cause (that is, the progress of the new Protestant doctrines), he begs they will give him a written declaration, sanctioning the contraction of this second marriage *in private*, taking care, however, at the same time to provide some means for making it public hereafter, in order that the lady whom he might marry should not forfeit her reputation.

Such was the question proposed to Luther and his friends in the year 1539, more than twenty years after their apostasy from the faith; and much embarrassment did it cause them. All the theologians of Wittemberg assembled to draw up an answer; and the result was the very compromise which the Landgrave himself had suggested. He was allowed to contract the double marriage, on condition that his second wife should not be publicly recognised. It was a dispensation specially granted to himself. "Your highness must be aware," they said, "of the difference between establishing a universal and granting an exceptional law. . . . . We cannot publicly sanction a plurality of wives. . . . . We pray your highness to consider the dangers in which a man would stand who should introduce a law [such as that of polygamy] that would disunite families, and plunge them into endless law-suits. . . . As to what your highness says, that it is not possible for you to abstain from adulteries and an impure life as long as you shall have but one wife, we wish that you were in a better state before God. . . . . But after all, if your highness is fully resolved to marry a second wife, we judge it ought to be done secretly." This document is still extant, and bears the signature of Luther and the other "Reformers" whom I have mentioned. Indeed, Melancthon actually assisted at the celebration of the marriage, which, however, was not managed so secretly but that a rumour *of it got* bruited abroad; and both Luther and the Land*grave were forced* to have recourse to divers equivocations, *in order to conceal* the true nature of the transaction; nor *was it until* the middle of the last century that the real

facts of the case were put beyond all dispute by the publication of the original documents. Need we add any thing more to this melancholy and instructive history, in order to open our readers' eyes to the true character of Luther and his pretended Reformation?

We have not attempted in these pages to give a full account of all that Luther said and did; for this would be to write a history of the Reformation, and would require a volume. We have only been anxious to set before you the principal events of his life, that so you might form a just estimate of his moral and religious character; and now there remains but little more that need be mentioned. The marriage of the Landgrave was celebrated in the year 1540; and from this time forward the letters both of Luther and of Melancthon are full of disgust and sadness. Luther was conscious that his credit and influence were materially diminished, and that he had no longer any power or authority over that religious movement which he had himself begun; but could only witness, without in any way guiding, its further development. He was far, however, from being able to resign himself to this necessity; on the contrary, as he drew nearer to his end, and saw the Zuinglians and others setting all his teaching at defiance, he daily became more and more furious. About the same time he also poured forth again, in two books, all the venom of his heart against the ancient Church. He had long since declared that he would "leave the Papists no rest from his curses until he sank into the grave," and truly he kept his word. He did not attempt to refute the doctrines which he had rejected; he only denied and distorted them, and sought to turn both them and their professors into ridicule, by heaping upon them all the most monstrous and abusive terms he could invent. And as if he could not find sufficient objects on which to exercise his malignity, he wrote also against the Jews. In the first work which he directed against them, he formally admonishes the Christians to burn down the Jewish synagogues; and says that every one who can, ought to contribute sulphur and pitch; *afterwards he says* that all their books should be taken *away from them*, even their Bibles; that their religion

worship must be forbidden, under penalty of death; that no mercy must be shown them; and finally, that they must be banished from the country. The second work was even worse than the first, so that his own adherents were heartily ashamed of the extravagances of which he was guilty in it. In a word, Luther spent the last years of his life in constant bitterness of mind, in fruitless lamentations and effusions of anger, in despondency, and in the frequent wish that he might soon be removed by death from the sight of so much that was intolerable to him. And, in this wretched frame of mind, death at length overtook him at Eisleben, the place of his birth, on the 22d of February, 1546.

Such, then, was the life and death of Martin Luther, the great originator of the foreign Reformation. As I have already told you, I have been obliged to suppress many of the worst passages in his conversation and writings, as being too bad to be published; but I think what I have said will be quite sufficient to create in any honest mind the gravest doubts as to whether he was indeed what he professed to be, a preacher sent from God to reform the world, and restore the Christian religion to its primitive purity. Let each of my Protestant readers ask himself this simple question: "Do I desire to be like the founder of my sect? Should I be contented to be in all things like unto Luther? Is he such an one as I could safely propose to myself and to my children to imitate? And if not, is he a teacher whom I can safely follow, seeing that he was (so to speak) the father of his own doctrine—I mean, that nobody ever taught the same doctrine as he taught before his day; and when first he began to teach it, nobody else agreed with him? Does he then bear about him, in his life and conversation, any signs of being an apostle? What proof, what probability is there, that he was really a messenger from God, commissioned to enlighten the world, and to teach them those Gospel truths which for so many hundred years had been buried and lost sight of in the Catholic Church?"

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THE

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II. THE LIFE OF CALVIN.

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The Foreign Reformation.

II. The Life of Calvin.

Next to Martin Luther, the man whose name is most intimately connected with the foreign Reformation, and who has been followed as a theological master by the largest section of Protestants, is John Calvin. In point of time, however, he was anticipated by one Ulrich Zuingle, of whom I ought to say a few words before I go on to give you an account of Calvin.

Zuingle was born at Wildehausen in Tockenburg, on the 1st of January, 1484; and he did in Switzerland much the same as was done by Luther in Saxony. He was sent to school at Basle and at Berne, and afterwards to the University of Vienna, where, if we may believe his own confessions, he led a very dissolute life; nor did he altogether abandon his evil ways even after his ordination. He was made a prebendary of Zurich, where he soon adopted the errors of Luther; and when a Franciscan friar came to that city to preach the same indulgence that Tetzel had preached in Saxony, Zuingle followed Luther's example, and declaimed violently against it.

Zuingle differed from Luther on several points of doctrine, as was, of course, to be expected, when they had both rejected the authoritative teaching of the Church, and proceeded to draw out a system of Christianity for themselves, according to their own private interpretation of the Bible. The *principal* point of difference was upon the nature of *Christ's presence* in the Holy Eucharist; concerning which *Luther confessed* that he would gladly have denied the Real *Presence had* he dared; but that he found the words of *Holy Scripture* too strong and explicit for him: he knew not

how to set them aside. As it was, he departed indeed, in one particular, from the true doctrine of the Church in this matter; but he did not deny—on the contrary, he very stoutly maintained—that the Body and Blood of Christ were verily and indeed present in that Holy Sacrament. Zuingle, on the other hand, taught that the bread and wine were nothing more than a type or figure of something that was absent; and he declared that a spirit had appeared to him in the night, to explain to him those passages of Scripture which seemed opposed to this new conceit, and to confirm him in his belief; but whether it was a white spirit or a black one, an angel or a devil, he could not say. Probably he borrowed this idea of laying claim to a supernatural revelation as the authority for his doctrine from Martin Luther himself, who professed to have been instructed as to the necessity of doing away with the Mass in a similar manner; only *he* never pretended that his supernatural teacher was any body else than the devil; strange as it may sound, that any one setting himself up to be a Christian pastor, and a reformer too, should voluntarily acknowledge himself to have been the disciple of such a master.

However, this dissension on so important a matter, between two men both professing to be specially raised up by God to be the instructors of mankind and the restorers of primitive Christianity, naturally gave great disedification, and was a serious stumbling-block in the way of infant Protestantism. The Landgrave Philip of Hesse—the same to whom Luther and his friends had granted the dispensation to have two wives at once—persuaded them to meet at Marburg, with a view to coming to some agreement. They disputed for six days, but without any result. Both referred to the Bible as the warrant of their teaching, each gloriously confuting his opponent and as gloriously confuted by him. They parted in very bitter enmity; Luther denouncing Zuingle and his followers as defamers of the Holy Sacrament; and Zuingle, on the other hand, declaring that Luther was in the hands of the devil, and that when he was surrounded by his disciples he seemed to be in the company *of a very legion* of devils.

Zuingle, like the rest of the reformers, took a wife; he

cording to that saying of Erasmus, that the pretended reformation of religion was like a comedy, always ending in a marriage: he married a widow early in the spring of 1524, having previously written to the Bishop to ask his consent, on the plea that, not having received the gift of continency, he was betrayed into certain irregularities of life which brought him into evil repute with his flock. Of course the consent was not given; and of course Zuingle and his friends made no scruple of acting without it, in spite of the vows of celibacy which they had taken.

The Sacramentarians of Zurich—as the disciples of the Swiss reformer were generally called—sought to recommend the new doctrines to their neighbours by force of arms; and when five of the cantons remained firm to the ancient faith, these fanatics took possession of the mountain-passes, intending to blockade them, and so reduce their Catholic fellow-countrymen to a necessity of conforming to Protestantism, as the only means of escaping starvation. Under these circumstances, the Catholic cantons were obliged to take up arms in self-defence. On the Sunday before the Feast of St. Matthew, A.D. 1531, Zuingle preached a sermon, in which he promised victory to his own party with the utmost confidence, indeed with an air of certainty, and a degree of circumstantial minuteness, as though he had been an inspired prophet. "Arise," he said, "attack the enemy; the five cantons are in your hands. I will be the first to present myself to the enemy. Then you will see the power of God; for when I address them in the word of God, and say, Whom do you seek, ye wicked ones? they will not be able to answer from fear and dismay; but will fall back and fly, as the Jews did before Christ on the Mount of Olives. You will see that the cannons they direct against you will turn upon themselves; their swords and pikes will not wound you, but them." However, when it came to the point, the prophecy was not fulfilled; the Protestant army was routed, vast numbers of them were left dead on the field, and Zuingle himself among the rest. "*He died and* was damned," says Luther; "because, like a *robber and a rebel,* he would fain have compelled others to *receive his doctrine* by force of arms. I thank God that

He has removed from this earth that enemy of the Holy Name of Jesus."

Such was the first introduction of Protestantism into Switzerland. Even after the death of Zuingle, peace was not immediately restored. The people of Zurich and of Berne renewed the attack four or five times, but were always repulsed with loss; until at length they were most unwillingly compelled to leave their Catholic neighbours in peace and in the quiet enjoyment of the ancient faith. Meanwhile, a new Reformer was springing up, differing in doctrine from any that had gone before; of a proud and irritable temper not to be surpassed even by that of Luther, and at the same time of a sour severity of disposition, which rendered the yoke of his despotism still more intolerable than that of his predecessor. Luther was a man of violent passions, who could pour forth the most outrageous language of abuse, or sanction the most cruel measures, when enraged by any unseasonable opposition; but he was also a man of warm feelings, who could love as well as hate. He was not insensible to the beauties of nature, nor to the charms of friendship and the claims of natural affection; he could weep over the death of his father or of his child, or make merry with his companions over a pot of German beer in the village alehouse. But Calvin could do none of these things: with a heart cold and hard as iron, he could assist at the death-bed of his father, and even of his wife, without shedding a tear; selfish and cunning to the last degree, he would urge or entice others into posts of danger to which he would not expose himself; arbitrary and cruel, he sought to impose his yoke upon the necks of all with whom he had to do. He remorselessly crushed every thing that dared to resist him; and when he had succeeded in raising himself to the highest place, he ruled with a very rod of iron. His laws, as even Protestants themselves admit, were written, not only with blood, but with fire; his severity was altogether Pagan. Such is the man of whose history I am now to give you a short sketch; and, like Luther's, it shall be taken as far as possible from his own writings, or at least *from the* writings of Protestants, not of Catholics.

John Calvin was born on the 10th of June, 1509,

Noyon in Picardy. He was the second son of a poor but respectable citizen of that place; and his father from his earliest infancy destined him for the study of theology. At the early age of twelve he was sent to the University of Paris, where the professional chairs were then occupied by some of the most celebrated men in Europe. Luther had already begun his rebellion against the Church; some of his books had reached Paris, where they fell into Calvin's hands; and with them came doubt and infidelity into the young student's soul. Nevertheless, this did not hinder him from accepting an ecclesiastical benefice, which was obtained for him by the kindness of some of his friends when he was just entering upon his nineteenth year, and therefore had not yet received holy orders, though already tonsured.

About this time, his father changed his views as to the future career of his son. Whether it was that he had detected his heretical tendencies, or only that he had recognised his talents, and was anxious they should be exercised in a more lucrative field of labour, any how, he determined that John should study law. John seems to have made no objection to the change, but went to Orleans, and afterwards to Bourges, for this purpose. Here he gave great delight to his masters by his ability and zeal for study. Already he was ranked "as teacher rather than pupil," says one of his biographers. One day one of the professors (himself a German Lutheran) said to him, "Your father has mistaken your vocation; you have not been called to preach law, nor yet to spout Greek like me; give yourself up to theology, for theology is the mistress of all sciences." These words decided the future destiny of Calvin; for his father was now dead, and he was free to follow his own tastes. From that day forward he laid aside his Homer and his law-books, and gave himself up to the study of the Bible under Protestant direction. For a time he seems to have passed through something of the same kind of mental struggle as Luther has described in his own case; but when this ceased, he entered heart and soul into the cause *of the Reformation*, preaching both publicly and privately *against Catholic* doctrine, whilst yet continuing to receive *the revenues* of his Catholic benefice. From Bourges he

returned to Paris in 1532, and there did great mischief among the young men, by teaching them that confession was an idle ceremony, that good works were useless, pilgrimages dangerous, and many other Catholic practices full of evil superstition. He was obliged to do all this with the utmost secrecy; indeed he did not venture to preach by day, but always by night and with closed doors, for fear of the government. However, in spite of these precautions, he was at length obliged to fly. For a while he found an easy and secure refuge with the Queen of Navarre. But at length he left France altogether, and went into Switzerland. At Strasbourg and Basle he entered into intimate relations with some of the most celebrated Reformers. He also completed and published his great work, entitled the *Christian Institutes*; a work which "was designed," says a Protestant writer, "to give a fair view of the religious principles of the reformed, which had already been confounded by their enemies with those of the Anabaptists and other sects." In other words, it was designed to expound Calvin's view of the Christian religion, and not the view of other Protestant Reformers, who, however, had just as good a right to entertain views of their own different from his, as he had to maintain opinions different from theirs. One thing is certain, that if this book of Calvin's be a true exposition of the Christian faith, all the works of the other reformers ought to have been burnt; if Calvin was an apostle sent by God, the others must have been emissaries of the devil; if the *Institutes* were written under the inspiration of Eternal Wisdom, Luther's *Captivity of Babylon*, Melancthon's *Augsburg Confession*, the works of Zwingle, Œcolampadius, and the rest, were utterly worthless; for the doctrines taught by the one were altogether different from those taught by the others. It was in this book, too, that Calvin first published that terrible doctrine on the subject of predestination, with which his name has ever since been identified. He taught that God had predestined some men to salvation, and others to damnation; and that this decree in no way depended upon man, nor could be affected by any thing man could do. *for that one* who was predestined to be saved would

saved, however much he might sin; and that one predestined to be damned *would* be damned, however holy might be his life; and that, just as the will of God is the sole reason for the election of some men, so the same will is the sole cause of the reprobation of others. That is to say, he made God the cause and author of sin; indeed, he distinctly said that the most abominable sins, *e. g.* the incest of which Absalom was guilty with his father's wives, were the work of God.

After the publication of this work, Calvin went into Italy to visit the Duchess of Ferrara, who favoured "the new learning." Political circumstances, however, soon obliged him to leave that country; and on his return he came to Geneva. Here it was that Calvin's real character was to have its full development; here it is that we must study him, in all his words and actions, more closely.

The reformed doctrines had already been introduced into this city by other French Protestants. Their progress was accompanied, as usual, by much civil disorder; and at the time of Calvin's arrival, the magistrates were sorely disquieted at the authority which was assumed and exercised by the chief preacher over the people. They had accepted Protestantism chiefly as a part of their revolt against the house of Savoy; but they now began to perceive that they had given themselves a master who was far more intolerant than the counts and *vidommes*, or lieutenants, whom they had driven out; and that this master had snatched the crozier from the bishop and the sword from the canons (for they were temporal princes, as well as ecclesiastical dignitaries), only that he might use both with redoubled energy as well against Protestants as Catholics. Farel,—for this was the name of the principal minister here,—was well aware of the popular discontent; he saw the danger of his position, and determined to strengthen it by the all-important acquisition of such a man as Calvin, to whom he at once abandoned the first place. And thus Calvin became installed as the preacher and professor of *theology for the* township of Geneva.

One of the earliest acts of this apostle of the right of *private judgment*, this advocate of the principle of religious

liberty, was to impose silence upon certain Anabaptist preachers who came from the Low Countries "in order to confer," as they said, "with the doctors of the new Church." Not only were they forbidden to preach or discuss in public, but they received an order of perpetual banishment; and were threatened with capital punishment if they should ever again attempt to enter the states of the republic. Next, Calvin drew up a "Confession of Faith, which all the citizens and inhabitants of Geneva, and its subjects, ought to swear to keep and to hold;" and when a certain portion of the people, who could not comprehend that a city which had driven away its bishops and its dukes should now permit strangers to regulate its worship and its faith, openly murmured against this assumption of spiritual authority, and made sport of the ministers, Calvin caused the council to accept the "Confession of Faith" as a law of the state; so as to render all who should despise it amenable to punishment. The council hesitated for a long time; but after an ineffectual struggle it yielded to the voice of the minister; and on the 20th of July, 1537, the people were obliged to swear that they would faithfully hold and observe this Calvinistic formulary. Henceforward an Inquisition, more cruel than any which Protestantism dreams of in Spain or any other Catholic country, was established at Geneva; a creed was imposed upon the people, such as they had never before been taught and did not even now understand; and not a creed only, but also practical rules of conduct of the most puritanical severity. Moreover, spies were regularly hired to frequent the taverns and other places of public resort, to see that this creed was no where spoken against, or these rules no where infringed. Those citizens who had always remained faithful to the Church had, of course, been objects of persecution for some time past; Calvin had even caused search to be made in the innermost chambers of their houses, to see that they no longer retained any holy images or other tokens of their worship; he took away their prayer-books, the hymns which they were in the habit of singing before they went to bed, and any loose leaves of prayers on which a representation of the Blessed Virgin chanced to be engraved. But now it was not the Catholics only

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who were subjected to this rigid "discipline," but all who ventured to differ from the Reformer of Noyon. To laugh at *Master* John Calvin or at his companion in the ministry, to make comments upon their dress, or their figure, or their gestures in the pulpit, was to be guilty of sedition; to dance, or to be present at dancing, or to say that dancing was lawful, was a crime punishable by fine and imprisonment; all kinds of games with dice or cards were strictly forbidden; all public-houses were to be closed at nightfall; not only were robbers and murderers to be cut off from the communion of the faithful, but also the quarrelsome man, and the spendthrift, and the seditious—and we have seen the wide interpretation which was set upon this last word:—every one must be present at the sermons that were preached, under the penalty of a fine of so many florins. A bride, who came to church with her hair less concealed than was prescribed by the preachers, was put in prison, as well as the two ladies who accompanied her, and the maid who arranged her hair, &c. In a word, all who were guilty of the least offence against the severe tastes of Calvin were deemed to have sinned against the laws of God; they were publicly rejected from "the Lord's table," and not allowed to partake of the "Sacrament." And yet, all this while, Calvin himself, so far from setting an example of Christian meekness, and patience, and charity, in his own conduct, was abusing his fellow-reformers in France and Germany with a coarseness of language quite unparalleled in the history of religious controversy.

Neither was his system of government at all successful for the purposes for which he intended it. It is not surprising, indeed, that at a moment when the people had just abandoned the practice of confession, and had cast off all those other wholesome restraints of discipline with which the Catholic religion is so abundantly furnished, Calvin should have felt the necessity of inventing some new device to curb the evil passions of the multitude. At the same time, it was not to be expected that men who had wilfully rebelled and set at nought the laws of God should show a greater respect for the laws of a mere apostate like themselves. The people soon rose up as one man against the

oppressive tyranny of the Reformer; cries resounded through the streets, "Death to the ministers!" The whole city was in an uproar; the magistrates called the people together, and the exile of the offensive ministers was voted almost unanimously. They were ordered to retire from the city within three days.

Accordingly they went to Berne, and that city used great exertions to persuade the men of Geneva to recal them, or at least to admit of their return; but in vain. They even sent a deputation, accompanied by the exiles themselves, who advanced within a league of the city; but there a courier met them and forbade their nearer approach. The edict against them was solemnly confirmed, and they returned to Berne. The bitterness of Calvin's wrath against the Genevese for having thus rejected him knew no bounds; his vanity was most deeply hurt; and he took no pains to hide from others how keenly he felt it. He went to Basle and Strasbourg, in which latter place he was appointed preacher and married a wife, the widow of an Anabaptist; Farel also about the same time marrying his own maid-servant.

I will not enter into any detailed account of the various conferences which were now held at Frankfort, and elsewhere, with the vain hope of bringing about an agreement of opinions and of formularies between the various fragments of the Protestant schism. Suffice it to say, that the doctrine propounded by Calvin on the subject of the Holy Eucharist, viz. that Christ was not really present there, yet was received by faith—a doctrine which he fondly imagined might be accepted as a sort of middle term between that of Zuingle and of Luther—was indignantly rejected by both parties; and at the end of these conferences the different schools of Protestants were almost more embittered against one another than at the beginning. "Cursed," said Luther, speaking of the concord offered by Calvin, "Cursed be that concord which thou seekest to introduce amongst Christians; cursed in this life and in the next." "Most hateful gentry," says Calvin, speaking of the Lutherans, "who are *so bitter* against us that they would rather make *peace with the Turks*, and give the kiss of brotherhood"

the Papists, than allow a few days' truce to us." Well might Erasmus exclaim, "You all refer to the word of God, and each of you pretends to be exclusively qualified to interpret it correctly. But before you presume to lay down the law for the world, pray settle your own differences amongst yourselves."

Calvin continued to live in Strasbourg for some time, but in comparative obscurity; other Reformers, of greater powers of eloquence and more popular talents, threw the illustrious refugee into the shade. At length, in the year 1541, he was recalled to Geneva, not by the people, who had nothing whatever to do with it, but by the magistrates; who were influenced partly by political motives, partly by a consideration of the utter incompetency of the ministers who now occupied his place in the pulpit. They may have hoped also that his expulsion would have taught him the necessity of moderation and mildness. For a while Calvin hesitated to accept the invitation; he seems both to have feared the hostile dispositions of the people, and also to have desired some more striking humiliation on the part of the Genevese authorities, in reparation of his offended dignity. On this latter point he was soon abundantly satisfied. The magistrates humbled themselves even to entreaties; to which the haughty Reformer, after some further show of resistance, at last condescended to accede. Thus, after three years of exile, Calvin once more re-entered Geneva. There were no general acclamations to greet his return, no manifestations either of joy or of surprise among the people at large. Yet, if his vanity was hurt by the absence of these flattering demonstrations, it must be allowed that he had good reason to congratulate himself on another score,—the liberality with which the magistrates had provided for his maintenance. A house in one of the best situations of the town, and very near to the church, had been duly fitted up before his arrival; and an annual sum of five hundred florins was assigned for his salary, together with twelve dozen bushels of wheat and two tuns of wine; *the magistrates* themselves at this time not receiving more *than a twentieth* part of this sum, and no perquisites whatever; *whereas* Calvin was continually receiving presents

from the town, of money, wine, wood, game, and other articles.

Not long after his return, a circumstance occurred which must not be omitted, as tending to throw great light, and that not by any means a favourable one, upon the character of Calvin and the reformed ministers generally. The plague, after having desolated Italy and a part of France, visited the shores of the lake of Geneva. Throughout all the streets of that busy mercantile city there went up a cry of fear and terror. The ministers mounted the pulpits, and exhorted the people to prayer; one day in the week (!) prayers were to be said publicly in the church, the shops to be closed, and the citizens to be admonished to assist at the sermon. Nevertheless, the course of the plague is not stayed: and what is now the conduct of the ministers towards those who are infected with it? Let the state-registers supply the answer. First, we find it ordained that the ministers should assemble, and select some *one* of their number whom they should deem most competent to the task of visiting the plague-hospital, and that *the council should then order him to go there;* but that Calvin must not be the one chosen, *because there is need of him for the Church.* Next, we find Calvin and the other ministers presenting themselves to the council, and "setting forth how they had advised amongst themselves that to visit the pest-hospital it is necessary to be firm and not timid, and that they had found *one,* who is of France, a faithful person; wherefore, should their lordships find him suitable, they present him. Although their office be to serve God and His Church, as well in prosperity as in adversity, even to death, *they confessed they did not do their duty in this conjuncture.* Resolved, to give them a hearing, always understanding that M. Calvin is not comprehended with the rest; because he is needed in the Church, and to give an answer to all strangers who may wish to consult him. The said ministers having entered without Calvin, *have confessed that God has not given them the grace to have strength and constancy to visit the hospital, praying therefore to be held excused.* One minister offered *himself, provided* the selection were properly made accord

ing to God, *saying that he was ready, if the lot fell upon him.* Resolved, *to pray to God to give them greater constancy for the future!*" Lots were not cast; Calvin and the rest kept themselves concealed in their own homes; and the scourge of God passed on, hurrying hundreds of souls away to judgment in all the agonies of despair. Compare with this the conduct of St. Charles Borromeo about the same time during the plague at Milan, or of the Jesuits a few years ago during the cholera in Rome, or what we have ourselves seen in our own country of the Catholic priests, both secular and religious, in Leeds, Liverpool, and other large towns during a time of public pestilence,—and say whether the conduct of these reformed ministers does not of itself condemn them, as not being legitimate pastors of the flock. Does it not at once bring back to our recollection those words of our Lord: "The good shepherd giveth his life for his sheep. But the hireling, and he that is not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep and flieth; and the wolf catcheth and scattereth the sheep; and the hireling flieth, because he is a hireling, and he hath no care for the sheep?"

Meanwhile Calvin is firmly reinstated in authority; he has resumed his old habits of despotic severity, and "Geneva becomes like a school of boys, governed by some village pedant." Some young persons, who on the Feast of the Epiphany drew lots in a popular game of "the kings," were prohibited from partaking of the Lord's Supper. A woman who sang a profane song to a sacred tune was banished. Three men, who were informed against as having eaten three dozen patés for breakfast, were imprisoned and kept for three days on water for "great dissoluteness." Whoever persuaded a companion or friend to go to the tavern, was condemned to kiss the earth, to stand in the pillory for an hour, and to pay a fine of five sous. Not to assist at the church-offices; to come into church after the commencement of the preaching; to play at cards; not to put out one's lamp *by the appointed* hour;—all these, and many other such *trifles, were offences* against the law, and punished by fines *or other penalties*; and informers paid by the state were

constantly employed to discover as many as were guilty of them. They were sworn to "watch all scandals, to hinder all idolatries, blasphemies, dissoluteness, and other things contravening the honour of God and the reformation of the Evangelical Church." The new legislative code, which was drawn up under the superintendence of Calvin, was equal for severity to that of any Pagan code. One word is perpetually recurring throughout the whole of it—*Death*. Death to every one guilty of high treason against God; and it was high treason against God to utter any raillery against the French refugees, who were His martyrs. Death to every one guilty of high treason against the state; and it was high treason against the state to make a mockery of M. Calvin. Death to the son that strikes or curses his father. Death to the adulterer (the adulteress was to be thrown into the Rhone). Death to the sorceress (in Catholic times these had been punished in Switzerland by banishment). Death to heretics; and all were heretics who did not agree with M. Calvin. Even children were sometimes scourged and hung by this monster of severity for having called their mothers by some evil names; or *if they had not yet attained the age of reason*, they were hung up for a while by the arm-pits, to show that they *deserved* death. Nor were any of these laws allowed to lie idle in the statute-book; on the contrary, they were most diligently acted upon; until even the council themselves, ordinarily the pliant instruments of the Reformer, grew weary of seeing so much bloodshed, and timidly decided, on the 15th of November, 1560, that the laws "regarding debauchery, adultery, blasphemy, and contempt of God, *seemed to some persons* to be too severe, and ought to be revised and moderated."

I have been thus particular in giving you these numerous details, in order that you may get a true notion of Calvin's *habitual* severity and cruelty of disposition, and so may detect the falsehood of those apologies which Protestant writers sometimes urge in extenuation of that crime of which I am now going to tell you, viz. his burning of Servetus.

Servetus was a learned Spanish physician, who le

his own country and established himself in 1531 in Switzerland, where he published different treatises against the true doctrine of the Most Holy Trinity, denouncing it as a "Popish fiction;" just as Luther and Calvin had done in respect to the holy doctrines of the Mass, Invocation of Saints, &c. He disputed at Basle with one of the Reformers on this subject, and at Strasbourg with another, and boasted that he had triumphed over both; he challenged Calvin himself to a similar disputation in Paris. Calvin accepted the challenge; the time and place were agreed upon, but Servetus did not make his appearance. Many years afterwards these two men came across one another again by means of a French bookseller, with whom both of them had commercial relations for the publication of their works. They enter into correspondence, but very soon quarrel. Neither could brook the overbearing and intolerant tone of the other. Their correspondence becomes nothing but an interchange of insults, and then it ceases. Servetus, however, is not idle; he labours for four years, and in the beginning of 1553 publishes a work of seven or eight hundred pages; in which, besides all his old blasphemies against the Holy Trinity, there is also a most masterly refutation of Calvinism. The author treats Calvin as Luther had treated Tetzel, with irony, sarcasm, and ridicule. A copy of the work reaches the Reformer's hands, and he is enraged beyond measure by it. He had already, several years before, declared in a private letter concerning his assailant, that if ever he came to Geneva, it was his firm resolve that he should not go out of it again alive. But Servetus is now in France; Calvin therefore sets to work through one of his agents, and causes him to be denounced to the ecclesiastical authorities of that country as a dangerous heretic, who had recently published the most shocking blasphemies against the Trinity; and he sends them the first few pages of the work. Servetus is accused, but denies all knowledge of the book; which had been published, of course, without his name. Calvin then sends some of his own letters addressed to himself, in which Servetus had maintained the same heresies many years before. On this evidence the Spaniard is arrested and thrown into prison;

from whence, however, he escapes, with the connivance of the jailer, and, as it is thought, of the archbishop also. He intended to have fled to Naples, and resumed his professional practice there as a physician; but losing his way, he finds himself on the 15th of July, 1553, in Geneva. He is preparing for his departure, when Calvin causes him to be arrested. He is accused of having, "in a printed book, defamed, in the person of M. Calvin, minister of God in the Church of Geneva, the doctrine which is preached; pronouncing all the insults and blasphemies which it is possible to invent." Day after day his examination proceeds, Calvin and the other ministers being present at the request of the judges; and day after day Calvin mounts the pulpit of the church publicly to insult and denounce his enemy before all the people; probably with a view to preparing them for the punishment which was to follow, and which Calvin had already determined upon. No one is allowed to visit him in prison; his petition that an advocate may be assigned to conduct his defence, especially in consideration of his being a stranger and ignorant of the laws of the country, is refused; so also is his petition for a shirt and some clean linen, being, as he said, devoured alive in his prison by vermin. To his plea that he had committed no offence on the Swiss territory, that he was no disturber of the peace or seditious person, but only had written a book treating on difficult questions and addressed to learned men, Calvin answered that "a heretic is not like a mere disturber of the peace; for that his crime troubles society, which has the right to punish him, wherever he may be found; and that a heretic is outside the pale of the common law." When he quotes the language which Calvin himself had formerly held, about the duty of using tears and entreaties, but never violence, for the conversion of heretics, he receives no answer. At length sentence is pronounced; and on the 27th of October, 1553, he is burnt alive at the stake, Calvin himself looking on and assisting at the last agonies of his enemy. The Churches of Zurich, Basle, Berne, and some other places, wrote to applaud *the deed*; so also did Bucer, Melancthon, and *other Reformers*: and a few months later, Calvin himself

published a book professing to be "a faithful exposition of the errors of Michael Servetus, and a brief refutation of the same; *wherein is taught that heretics are to be coerced by the right of the sword.*"

Such is the history of the execution of Michael Servetus, concerning which some Protestants think it enough to say, that "it only shows that he had imbibed a portion of the persecuting spirit of that Church which he had forsaken;" meaning, of course, the Catholic Church. But the truth is, as the facts in the preceding pages fully show, this act was nothing at all extraordinary in the life of Calvin; it was not at all inconsistent with his general character and principles; on the contrary, it was in most strict harmony with his whole temper of mind and all the actions of his life: and as to its being "a remnant of Popery," from which he had not yet succeeded in thoroughly emancipating himself, history has not recorded a single act of any Catholic ecclesiastical authority with which this can with any justice be compared. The letter is still extant in which Calvin wrote to his friend Farel, seven years before Servetus came to Geneva, that if ever he *did* come there, and *his* authority were of any avail in the matter, he would not suffer him to escape alive. It was, therefore, no sudden frenzy of passion which produced this result; it had been maturely considered and deliberately determined upon for years. That other letter also is still extant, in which Servetus, shut up in the prison of Geneva, lying upon straw and devoured by vermin, reminded his persecutor of the principles which he himself had laid down, in his work on the *Christian Institutes*, as to the proper mode of dealing with heretics. He cannot, therefore, avail himself of the plea of ignorance; the more humane course was set before him, and he knowingly rejected it. Lastly, it should be borne in mind, not only that Calvin, by setting aside the authoritative teaching of the Church, and referring each man to his Bible and to the guidance of the Holy *Spirit*, had rendered it practically impossible for any one *to know with certainty* what he ought to believe, but also *that on this very* subject of the Holy Trinity, he had himself been accused of Arianism by some of his brother Re-

formers; and though he had denied the charge, yet he confessed that he did not hold the same faith as was defined in the Athanasian creed; "which creed," he falsely said, "the Church of God had never received." Both Calvin and Servetus, therefore, departed from the true faith on this subject; but because Servetus adopted a different heresy from his own, Calvin did not hesitate to put him to death.

As my object in these pages is not to give you a *complete* account of the life of Calvin, but only as much as is necessary for you to form a correct idea of his moral and religious character as a Christian and a *Reformer*, I shall pass over his treatment of some other persons, which, if not so fatal in its consequences, was certainly not less cruel in its principle than that which has been already described; neither shall I enter on an account of all the political troubles by which Geneva still continued to be disturbed, but in which the party of which Calvin was the representative ultimately prevailed. It is enough that you should know that the same unchristian severity marked his whole career to the end. Just as he caused a poor woman to be banished, because she had been heard to express an opinion that the execution of Servetus was unjust, so, when he had succeeded in securing the exile of his political antagonists, as well as of their wives and families, and the confiscation of all their property, he next obtained a decree from the council, ordaining *the punishment of death against every citizen who should even speak of recalling the exiles.* And so he continued, manifesting the same hard, intolerant, unmerciful spirit up to the very moment of his death, which happened on the 27th of May, 1564.

"On that day," says Beza, "the sun went down, and the greatest luminary that ever came into the world for the direction of the Church of God was withdrawn to heaven!" Beza and Farel were the only two who remained on friendly terms with him to the end of his life; and even this was owing, in great measure, to their natural timidity and skill in dissimulation. None of the other Reformers could tolerate his pride, his love of power, and his intense selfishness. Melancthon reproached him with "a moroseness which *nothing could bend.*" Bucer exclaimed, "Thou lovest and

thou hatest with no other motive than that insupportable self-love which is such a nuisance to all that are acquainted with thee." Another of his Protestant contemporaries says of him, that he was "revengeful, and thirsted after blood; and that beneath a calm and modest exterior he concealed pride and selfishness." A fourth writes, "All thy colleagues complain of thy intolerable arrogance." A fifth says that "he is infected with the disease of evil-speaking, as with the poison of a mad dog." Lastly, we are told that he was so hated in Geneva, that it was a common saying among the people, "Better to be in hell with Beza, than in heaven with Calvin."

Such was the general estimate formed of this "great light of the Protestant Reformation" by those who had the opportunity of knowing him best; and his own estimate of his fellow-Reformers was not much higher perhaps. There is scarcely one of them, from Luther downwards, whom he has not somewhere abused and vilified. Melancthon was, according to him, a weathercock and a coward; Osiander was an enchanter, a seducer, and a wild beast; another is elegantly denounced as a filthy babbler; another is a jackdaw and a screech-owl; a fifth is a proud and wrathful stirrer-up of strife. To a sixth he addresses a letter, couched in the following chaste and charitable language: "Your school is a stinking pig-sty; do you hear me, you dog, you madman, you beast?"

But enough of this. Let us drop the scene on this hideous picture, of men setting themselves up as special examples of the Christian life in the midst of a perverse generation, yet exhibiting in their conduct all those vices which are most opposite to the Christian character; of men professing to have a mission from God to proclaim the truth after it had been lost sight of for hundreds of years, yet denouncing one another and one another's doctrines with just the same violence as they denounced "the Papists and Popery." Let us bear in mind those words of St. James (iii. 16), "Where envying and contention is, there is *inconstancy* and every evil work;" and we shall never need *any other token* whereby to form a true judgment of the *Reformation* and the Reformers.

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THE

FOREIGN REFORMATION.

III. ITS EFFECTS UPON CHRISTIAN FAITH AND MORALS.

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The Foreign Reformation.

III. Its Effects upon Christian Faith and Morals.

We have now seen something of the lives and characters of the two principal agents in that change of religion in the sixteenth century which men call the Reformation; and I think nobody will pretend that we can find in them any marks or tokens which would lead us to suppose that they were chosen servants of God, specially called by Him to instruct His people and reform His Church. If the work in which they were engaged really *was* the work of God, we must look for the proofs of this in the nature of the work itself or its results, certainly not in the lives of those who brought it about. Now, therefore, let us say a few words about the Reformation in itself; not indeed describing in detail the historical events with which it was mixed up—for this would require a volume, or many volumes,—but taking only a general survey of its results in a religious point of view, as it affected Christian faith and Christian morals.

The Reformers set out with denouncing the Christian Church, as she then existed, in the strongest terms of abuse that human language could supply. They represented her as utterly and hopelessly corrupt in her head and all her members; "from the sole of the foot unto the top of the head there was no soundness in her;" the Pope was "the man of perdition, the first-begotten of Antichrist;" the bishops were "the authors of all error, ignorance, blindness, superstition, hypocrisy, and idolatry;" the very ceremonies of the Church were "impious and magical;" she was herself "pestiferous, damnable, and idolatrous;" and under her guidance "the whole world

had been sunk in the pit of damnable idolatry for the space of nine hundred years and odd." And all this the Reformers were sent to correct; they were to wipe away these fearful stains; to restore purity of doctrine and holiness of life; to bring back the lost glories of primitive Christianity. The work intrusted to them was nothing less, according to their own professions, than *the restoration of the Gospel.* They called themselves and their followers by this very title, *Evangelici*, professors of the Gospel, or Gospellers; and they commonly spoke of the cause in which they were engaged as "God's own cause."

Now let us see how far the *fruits* of their labour corresponded to these most magnificent professions. And it will be convenient for our purpose to consider these fruits according to the twofold division already suggested, purity of doctrine and holiness of life. Every one will allow that both these points are included in the purposes of Christianity, as revealed to us by its Divine Founder; that it was intended both to teach us what we are to believe, and to give us grace and strength to keep God's commandments in all that we do. It cannot, therefore, be unjust to use them as tests of any system calling itself Christian; more particularly of a system like that of the Reformers, claiming to be considered the very *revival* of Christianity.

We will speak first of purity of doctrine, and then of holiness of life. No one can be ignorant how earnestly this point was insisted upon by the first Protestants; how they said that the doctrines taught by the Church were "devilish and idolatrous," and that they were raised up to preach the real doctrines of the Bible, the true doctrine of Jesus Christ. What, then, was their success?

In the first stage of their work, whilst all their energies were bent on denouncing the Catholic system, bringing it into discredit, throwing ridicule upon it, and by every possible means drawing men's minds away from it, they seemed to carry every thing before them: for this was mere pulling down, than which nothing (generally speaking) is *more easy*; especially to those who are not very *scrupulous (as* Luther was not) as to the means they *employ, or the* amount of damage and ruin which the pr

cess may involve. But when it came to building up again, when it was necessary for them to reconstruct the true edifice of Christian faith, in the place of that "synagogue of Antichrist" which they had destroyed, then immediately the architects fell to quarrelling among themselves. They could not agree upon any one plan or design; but each had his own model, and each was self-opinionated and obstinate enough to prefer his own, and indignantly to refuse that of every other. Endless confusion and strife were the inevitable result. It had been easy enough, for example, to deny the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist; but the difficulty was, to agree on something definite which should be substituted in its stead. Luther, who had the start of all the rest because he *began* the rebellion, proposed one form of error; then Zuingle proposed another; and Calvin a third; and who was to decide between them? For it is the very fundamental principle of Protestantism, that the Holy Scriptures are the *only* rule of the Christian's faith, and that there is *no infallible interpreter* of those Scriptures upon earth. On these two points all Protestants are agreed. If, then, they are sincere in their professions on this subject,—if they really mean in their hearts what in their sermons, confessions of faith, and controversies against Catholics, they have declared over and over again, so many thousands of times,—it follows as a plain matter of course that they must acknowledge in every Christian a right to interpret the Bible for himself; and that those doctrines alone can be articles of faith for each individual which he reads in the Bible, *no matter whether others can find them there or not.* Luther, therefore, had no right to denounce Zuingle as being in error, nor Zuingle to denounce Calvin for teaching a doctrine different from his own, unless he could first show that his own was necessarily and unquestionably the true one; for the same Bible was open to them all, and each had taken from it that which he conceived to be its genuine meaning. It was *certainly unfortunate* that they should have taken different *views of what* that meaning was; but it was a misfortune *for which, in the* Protestant system, no remedy was provided.

Now this one fact, taken by itself and fairly considered, ought, I think, to open men's minds as to the true character of the work that was in progress. Here are the men who boasted that they were sent to restore to the world the Gospel which had been lost "for nine hundred years and odd," and they have yet to look for it themselves: or rather, each is very confident that he has found it; but they have found three different ones, and there is no possible means, according to their own system, of ever determining which of the three is true, and which are false. Only imagine if the twelve Apostles, when they were sent out by our Lord to preach the Gospel to every creature, had proved, the moment they began to open their mouths, that they had different notions one from another as to what the Gospel really was; suppose that they had angrily disputed amongst themselves what was the true doctrine about baptism, what was the Christian rule to be observed in admitting sinners to repentance, what they were to teach about the nature of God and of Christ;—suppose, I say, that the Apostles had disputed amongst themselves about such things as these, and at the same time had all agreed in confessing that there was no infallible authority on earth which could decide between them,—do you think they would ever have converted the world? would any body have believed in their Divine mission? or would they not rather have been scorned and ridiculed, as manifest impostors? Just so, in the case before us, who can believe that Luther, Carlstadt, Zuingle, Calvin, and the rest, were sent from God to restore the Gospel, when they have no uniform idea as to what the Gospel is?

The Reformers themselves were very conscious of the force of this argument against their system. "It is of great importance," said Calvin, writing to Melancthon, "that posterity should never suspect the dissensions that have arisen amongst us. For it is truly ridiculous, that, after opposing ourselves to the whole world, we should at the very commencement differ among ourselves." And others, more religious-minded than he, lamented over these *differences of opinion*, not only, or principally, on accoun

of the scandal which they gave, and the hindrances which they put in the way of the progress of the reformed doctrines, but also because of their own intrinsic evil, and the spirit of universal scepticism which they must needs engender. "All the waters of the river Elbe," writes Melancthon to a friend, "would not be sufficient to weep over the dissensions of the Reformation. Men doubt with regard to the most momentous doctrines; the evil is incurable."

And, indeed, he might well say so. For it was not on the subject of the Holy Eucharist alone that men's minds were divided: old heresies, which had long since been condemned, and banished (one might almost say) from the whole Christian world, now came forth to light again with renewed vigour; and new heresies, such as had never before been heard of, sprang into being. Before the Reformation, Arianism—that most hateful heresy, which strikes at the root of the whole Christian faith, by denying that Jesus Christ is God—was practically extinct; "it was buried in oblivion," says a Protestant writer, "so that for centuries scarcely an Arian was to be found; but after the Reformation was established, it again revived;" and though some of its first professors were drowned, beheaded, or burned, by the other Protestant Reformers, yet it soon grew too strong for its enemies: in course of a few years Socinianism was more than a match for Lutheranism, of which in truth it was but a legitimate offspring. Then again, other men arose, who taught that among Christians, who had the precepts of the Gospel and the Spirit of God to direct them, the office of civil magistracy was not only unnecessary, but unlawful, and contrary to that liberty wherewith Christ had made them free; that the Holy Scriptures having declared that in the sight of God men were equal, and that there was no respect of persons with Him, all those artificial distinctions which the world had introduced, of noble birth, of rank, or of wealth, ought *instantly to be* abolished, so that all Christians should *henceforth have* all things in common; that, there being *no Divine precept* in the New Testament which forbade a

man to have more than one wife, it was an unlawful interference with Christian liberty thus to limit the power of marriage, and ought not to be tolerated.

These are only a specimen of the first-fruits of Protestantism; in its very infancy these were the doctrines to which "the restoration of the Gospel" gave birth. Nor were they mere speculative opinions, engendered in the heated brain of some dreamy student of theology, and adopted, in theory only, by a few extravagant enthusiasts; they were preached from the pulpit and in the market-place, and attracted thousands of followers. No wonder, therefore, at the utter and inextricable confusion in which every part of Christian doctrine was soon involved by the angry contentions of rival Reformers. The disputes of the teachers necessarily became known to the people, and filled both their heads and hearts with doubt and uncertainty. They heard sermons, and they read the Bible; but they no longer knew what they were to believe, or whom they should follow. "So great," writes a learned Lutheran teacher of those days, "so great are the corruptions, falsifications, and scandalous contentions, which, like a fearful deluge, overspread the land, and afflict, disturb, mislead, and perplex poor simple common men not deeply read in Scripture, that one is completely bewildered as to which side is right, and to which he should give his adherence." And another, a Lutheran professor of theology, declares his belief that "the last days" must now have come; since "there is such confusion in the doctrine of the Church, *that it may be doubted whether there is a believer on earth.*"

Oh, what a "restoration of the Gospel" was this, then, whereby all faith in the Gospel was well nigh abolished! Men specially raised up by God to teach His true doctrine, and then, as an immediate consequence of their teaching, "scarcely a believer left upon earth!"

But it may be said that, although all this is very true, yet after all it does not amount to a conclusive token against the claims of Protestantism to be considered a *work of God* and a real restoration of the Gospel; since it *was only to be* expected that when men found their min

suddenly released from the burden of an oppressive bondage, which had kept them in ignorance and superstition for many hundreds of years, they should run a little wild at first in the use of their newly-acquired liberty,—that they should lose themselves for a while in doubts and speculations upon *every* part of religion; we ought, therefore, to make allowance for this, and not scan the immediate circumstances of the Reformation too minutely. Great works, it will be said, demand large and liberal allowance in estimating the character of their instruments; they must not be measured by ordinary standards. All this strife and confusion of tongues was an unavoidable evil just in the first moment of breaking up the old system of things; but let us wait awhile, and after the lapse of a few years, or a few generations, we shall see the stream of reformed truth rid itself of all these noisome incumbrances, and flow on pure and undefiled, so that all the nations of the earth cannot fail to recognise it as the only fountain of life.

Well, we can afford to allow this objection to the fullest extent. I do not think it altogether a just one, because it is so essentially human in its character; I mean, that it presumes that the Reformation was a mere work of man, and so liable to all the imperfections of other human works; whereas I thought that the claim put forward by the Reformers was, that it was "God's own cause," *His* work so entirely, that they were but passive instruments in His hands; and I thought that Almighty God both could, and would, have protected His work from such universal and frightful excesses as those which have been described. Supposing the work to have come direct from the devil, we could scarcely have expected any plainer marks or tokens whereby we might be put on our guard against it than those very marks of which we have been giving an account; and certainly I know of no other work of God—the preaching of the Gospel at the first, for example—which was characterised at all in the same manner. *However, let this* pass; let this huge monster-movement, *the Reformation,* have time to *right* itself, so to say; let us *close our eyes to* all the imperfections of its infancy, and *look at it only* when it has had time fully to develop itself,

when it is firmly established; when we can separate what was accidental and temporary from what is really and essentially its true normal condition. And surely if we allow three centuries for this purpose, we have done as much as can be required of us; if this be not time enough in which to display its proper character, and to bring forth its true fruits, we must wait till the day of judgment to declare them.

What, then, is the state of Reformed Europe at the present day in the matter of Christian doctrine?

I say nothing of the countless swarms of heretical sects which overspread the whole face of the country, and all of which glory in the name of Protestant, and are the genuine offspring of the Reformation: I say nothing of the manifest absurdity of calling that *a restoration of the Gospel*, which has ended by producing—in this little island of ours alone, and taking no account of America and all other Protestant countries—such a picture as is presented by the religious census of 1851;—upwards of a hundred various sects or denominations, all claiming to teach this restored Gospel, but with such an infinite variety of interpretations, that a man might spend his whole life in running about in quest of the true one, and never find it after all. I say nothing of all this, because I wish to be brief; and will confine myself, therefore, to the consideration of those bodies which may claim in a more especial manner to be the lineal descendants and genuine representatives of the original reformers. I will not speak of the Plymouth Brethren in England, or the Mormonites in America; but only of the Lutherans in Germany and of the Calvinists in Switzerland: here surely, if any where, we may expect, on the Protestant theory, to find the restored Gospel pure and undefiled.

And yet, what is the actual state of the case? It is acknowledged by German Protestants themselves, that if Luther could rise again from the grave, he could not possibly recognise as his own, as members of the society which he founded, those teachers who now occupy his *churches and claim* to be considered his successors. When, *a few years ago*, in 1817, Protestants celebrated a gran

festival in honour of the third centenary of the existence of their sect (for Luther began his rebellion, as I have told you, in 1517), one of the Lutheran preachers of the day used these remarkable words: "Luther founded his Church in Saxony; we come together to thank God for its foundation; but alas! *it is no more:* it has ceased to exist." And another, a Superintendent-General amongst them, said that "the greatest part of the Evangelical Churches might well be asked *if they could make any pretence to the name of a Christian Church at all.*" And if we would ascertain something more of what is the full meaning of these general confessions, we shall find them sufficiently explained in the following statement by Mr. Hugh James Rose, himself a Protestant clergyman of the Church of England: "The theology of the Protestant Churches of Germany," he says, "presented a very singular spectacle during the last half of the preceding century and the commencement of the present. *A very large majority of the divines of these Churches rejected all belief in the Divine origin of Christianity,* and anxiously endeavoured to instil into others the opinions which they had embraced themselves!" And another Protestant writer, counting up a few years since all the professors of theology in the Lutheran schools of divinity who *in any way* contended for the doctrines of the Gospel, or *for its very truth,* was able to reckon in all Protestant Germany only seventeen!

Such has been the issue of the boasted restoration of the Gospel in the country which first saw, 300 years ago, the birth of Protestantism. Luther then proclaimed that Catholics had obscured the light of the Gospel by their corrupt traditions, and boasted that he would restore to life that faith which had lain dead for ages: and the result has been that faith has been altogether extinguished among his followers, who now repudiate with scorn that very Gospel of which he professed to be the champion. Luther talked loudly of the Bible and the Bible only, which he said that *Catholics depreciated* by unduly exalting the authority of *the Church;* and his descendants have come to explain *away the miracles* recorded in that Bible, as though they *were mere natural facts,* and its prophecies as though they

were "the conjectures of clever and experienced men, likely from their abilities to foresee future events;" to deny its inspiration; and even to pronounce it probable that it "does not contain the pure doctrines of Christ." Luther professed great jealousy for the honour of Jesus, which was interfered with, he said, by devotions to the Blessed Virgin and all the Saints; and one of his own communion now testifies concerning his descendants, that "*many* amongst them publicly blaspheme Jesus, Abraham, Moses, and the Prophets, both by word and writing," and "that their sermons have so little to do with Christ, that they might, without the slightest impropriety, be delivered in a Jewish synagogue or a Turkish mosque."

Let us turn now from Lutheranism to Calvinism, from Germany to Switzerland; and let us see whether "God's own cause" has fared any better among the disciples of the austere despot of Geneva. So far from it, that we are told that "at the present time the twenty-seven pastors of the Established Church of the canton of Geneva are understood, *with two or three exceptions*, to hold *Unitarian* opinions." *The Venerable Company of Pastors*, that is, the Ecclesiastical Consistory, or governing body, of the Church of Geneva, have openly acknowledged that they *reject the Divinity of our Lord;* and they boldly defend this frightful heresy as the legitimate and necessary development of Protestantism; and say that those who are of a different opinion, "the orthodox," as they are called, "ought to go to Rome." "The pastors of this city," writes one of their own number to a brother Protestant, "*will soon be nothing more than a mere philosophical assembly, or literary society.*" Here, again, instead of the Gospel restored, we have the Gospel simply and absolutely abolished. Those fundamental doctrines which, if we were to believe the assertions of Calvin and his friends, were so overlaid by the "corruptions" of Rome as to be practically lost sight of under the old Catholic system, are now disowned, even in theory, by Protestants themselves. Nay more, they are acknowledged to be so distinctively the tenets of "Popery," *that if Protestants wish to believe them, they must go to Rome.* Those who were accused of putting the Bible

Virgin in the place of Christ, of worshipping a creature instead of the Eternal Son of God, are so notorious at the present day for the worship of Christ, that those who wish to pay that worship are bid to go and join them; whilst their accusers, who protested against devotion to Mary, and abolished it, in order, as they said, that they might worship Christ more purely, *have ceased to worship Him altogether.*

Is it possible for facts to speak more plainly in condemnation of the so-called Reformation? Look at its promises and professions, and compare them with the results. I have only given some account of those results in Germany and in Switzerland, because I do not wish to be wearisome; and because these countries are really fair samples of the rest. But I might have said of Protestantism in France, on the authority of a Protestant writer, that "a few years ago it was hardly possible to find twenty pastors who confessed the doctrines of the Trinity and the Atonement; and that the established Protestantism of the country is for the most part Socinianism;" that is, denying the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. I might have said of Protestantism in Holland, that "the sentiments of the ministers are tainted with the Arminian and Socinian heresies, and with the spirit of scepticism;" and so on of the other Protestant countries of Europe in succession: showing how that, in one and all of them, there has been the same result, more or less fully developed; viz. the denial of those very doctrines which the Reformers deemed most fundamental, and which it was their professed object to rescue from the obscurity into which they pretended that they had fallen.

Take, then, this one great fact, and meditate upon it; and see what a lesson it teaches us about the origin and true character of the foreign Reformation. You know what it promised; you see what it has performed. Compare the *two, and judge for* yourselves whether the work, of which *this has been the* result, was the work of God or the work *of man. According* to the Protestant theory of the Reformation, *the* Reformers were raised up as prophets and

teachers, to restore to the world the pure doctrines of primitive Christianity, so long corrupted by "human traditions," and to remedy, by a kind of second revelation, the failure of the first. And can it be, that God should have thus wonderfully interfered for the preservation of sound doctrine, *only to fail again*, if one may use such language with reverence? Can it be, that the only results of this merciful interposition of Divine Providence, the end and issue of "God's own cause," should have been utter and inextricable confusion and contradiction on all subjects of Christian doctrine at the first, and a general denial of the very Divinity of our Lord, and of the great doctrine of the Atonement, at the last?

And now, having seen what were the effects produced by Luther's Reformation upon Christian faith and doctrine; how confusion and error were everywhere introduced, and how, in all places where the Reformation was most successful, the fundamental doctrines of Christianity have been well nigh lost,—let us next inquire what were its effects upon Christian morals; and if we find that here, too, the progress of the new doctrines was everywhere followed by a general deterioration; that purity, charity, meekness, self-denial, and all other Christian graces, were not practised, and even fell into disrepute; that men became daily more and more luxurious, covetous, and sensual in their habits, and more and more hard-hearted towards the poor,—surely we can no longer hesitate as to the true birth and parentage of this vaunted Reformation.

It is true, indeed, that Luther himself did not set so high a value upon purity of morals as upon purity of faith: he said distinctly, that "true doctrine was of far more importance than the manner of living;" that it was more necessary to preach against Popery than against theft, murder, or adultery; he even made it a subject of special prayer for his disciples, that God would suffer them to fall into any depth of iniquity and evil living, provided only that He preserved them from the blindness and darkness of error. We should be doing him an injustice, however, if we were to represent him as having been on

account altogether indifferent to the subject of morality: he was not; but it was one of the errors of his heresy to believe that a good and holy life would necessarily follow from faith; so that if the one was secured, the other need not be specially attended to. And hence he was keenly alive to the force of the argument that was derived, even in his own days, against the truth of his system, from the uniformly vicious conduct of its professors. Many of those who were at first disposed to think favourably of the new doctrines and to embrace them, afterwards drew back and loudly denounced them; assigning this as one of their reasons for so doing, that they were frightened by the vice and impiety which they observed everywhere to follow upon its profession. Erasmus, for instance—of whom it was said that Luther did but hatch the egg which Erasmus had laid, so bitterly had he written against what he called the superstitious practices of Catholics, and so little were his thoughts and feelings in harmony with the teaching of the Church; Erasmus, I say—although in 1520 he wrote to Melancthon, saying that "he was on Luther's side, as were all other good people, and that he only regretted that Luther's language was not always so moderate as it might be;" yet four years afterwards, writing to the very same person, he gives the following testimony: "In former times the Gospel was wont to make fierce men become gentle, robbers merciful, disturbers of the public peace good subjects, and evil speakers men of goodwill and charity; but I see that those who embrace this new Gospel are thereby rendered riotous, seizers of other men's goods, stirrers-up of strife, and maligners even of good men. I see a new generation of hypocrites and tyrants, but not one spark of a spirit that can be truly called evangelical." And again: "These men have always holy words upon their lips, such as the Gospel, the Holy Word of God, faith, Christ, the Holy Spirit, &c.; but their conduct is such as to make one *believe* that they are possessed by the devil;" "they are *haughty, impudent,* deceitful, liars, blasphemers, quarrelling among themselves, seditious; in a word, they are such, that if I knew any place in the world which was wholly free from them, I would go there this moment, that I

might be out of their way." "I may be unfortunate," he says at another time, "but *I protest I do not know a single man who has joined them, who has not manifestly become the worse Christian for so doing.*" And again, he boldly challenges them, saying: "Show me the instance of any drunkard whom these new doctrines have made sober, any greedy man whom they have made liberal, any evil speaker whom they have taught to govern his tongue, any profligate whom they have reformed; and I will undertake to show you many upon whom they have had the directly opposite effect." "I am certain that you would search in vain for greater licentiousness of conduct, more frequent adulteries, and disregard of all the laws of Christian matrimony, than among these Gospellers, as they delight to call themselves. I need not specify names; for has not Luther himself acknowledged, that he would prefer the old reign of the Pope and the monks to this present generation of men, rushing headlong into every kind of iniquity under the cloak of the Gospel? Has not Melancthon, too, made the very same complaint in his private letters to ourselves? and Œcolampadius (another of the Reformers) in his conversations?"

These last words suggest to me that it would be well to confine ourselves, as far as possible, to the testimony on this point of the Reformers themselves. For it may be objected, perhaps, that the testimony of Erasmus is liable to suspicion, as of a man who had once been favourably disposed towards them, and afterwards drew back: that he wrote, therefore, with something of the bitterness of a renegade; that he was *obliged* to make them out to be very bad, or he would be unable to justify his own conduct in forsaking them. Let us call other witnesses, then, men against whom no exception of this kind can be taken; let us question the very heads and leaders of the movement themselves; and if we find that, even according to the acknowledgment of these, the fruits of the change of religion which they effected were such as I have described, surely we shall not err in deciding that that change was the work, *not of God, but* of the devil.

Now, Luther's estimate of the vast and important i

provements in a moral point of view which might be expected to flow from his doctrines, could scarcely be surpassed. He boldly declared that, "thanks be to God, the Gospel had never been better explained since the days of the Apostles than it was now;" "that there was not a child of fifteen years old who did not now understand Christian doctrines better than the most learned doctors of the schools had done in times past;" and that "whereas hitherto every truth had been either suppressed or obscured by the foolish teaching of the Papists, now there was nobody who did not fully understand how to order his conduct in every relation of life according to the Christian rule."

So much for the professions and promises of Lutheranism in this regard; now for its fulfilment of them. Before it had been in existence ten years, what is Luther's confession? He says that "there are so few Christians upon the earth, that it is scarcely possible to see two together;" that he would be thankful if the greater number "of those who professed the Gospel" (that is, of Protestants,) were "at least good and honest Pagans; observing, I will not say the law of Christ, but the very law of nature; but that, on the contrary, there is nobody who has ever yet joined them, who has not immediately become seven times worse than he was before; plundering other men's goods, lying, cheating, eating and drinking, and giving himself up to every vice. Verily, if we have cast out of the hearts of the people one evil spirit, seven others worse than the first have now entered in, and taken possession of them. Every one, princes, grandees, tradesmen, and even the very boors of the country, behave with the utmost carelessness, and take not the least heed in the world to the angry threatenings of God."

Such were the lamentations of Luther in the year 1525, eight years after he began his unhallowed work of fighting *against the* Church. And if we follow him through the *course of his* after-life, we shall find him sometimes in*dulging in the* most haughty exultations at the outward *progress which* his opinions were making in the world, *the number* of nobles, princes, and even bishops, who

at his persuasion had rebelled against the Holy Roman Church, and apostatised from the faith; and at other times cast down to the very earth, in despair at the corresponding progress of vice and immorality. "Hitherto," he says, writing in the year 1532, "hitherto the new doctrine has done nothing but increase the misconduct of the world; *every where, wherever it has been received, it has made men more avaricious, more unmerciful, more impatient of discipline.*" Seven years later still his language becomes yet stronger: "In consequence of the preaching of the Gospel, the peasantry are carried away to such a pitch of license, that there is nothing which they do not now think they may do. They no longer fear either hell or purgatory; they are proud, gross, insolent, covetous, ready to do any evil in the world. 'We have faith,' they say, 'and that is enough.'" "Since the manifestation of the great light of the Gospel, Germany conducts herself as though she were under the power of the devil. Young people show themselves impatient of discipline, and are become brutish; and as for the old, they are given up to avarice, usury, and I know not what other vices, such as I dare not even name. Lo, this is the way in which they show their gratitude to God for the grace of His Word." "Truly, we have a strange spectacle before our eyes; every man professes to be a Christian and a Gospeller"—by this time the Catholic faith had been proscribed in Saxony—"and yet every one gives himself up unrestrainedly to the pleasures of the flesh, to avarice, usury, and I know not what other crimes. Imagine to yourself a law that should enjoin the direct opposite of every thing that is enjoined in the ten commandments of God, and you will have precisely the law according to which the world is just now regulating its conduct. Everywhere we see that little or no account is taken of the Word of God, and of His servants; everywhere we see nothing but blasphemy, profligacy, pride and plunder;" and even "those who boast themselves as being the first in the kingdom of Christ, show by their conduct that their hearts are under the dominion of Satan."

It would not be difficult to multiply quotations of this *kind to an* almost infinite extent from the writings of

father of the Reformation; to show that they become more and more abundant in proportion as he grew older, and had had a longer experience of the effects of his preaching. And you must not suppose that they are only the exaggerations of an over-sensitive mind, which had looked for great fruits of holiness to follow from the preaching of the Gospel; and being disappointed, poured itself out in extravagant lamentations to its own confidential friends, without reflecting upon the use that would be made of such confessions by the enemies of this new Gospel. On the contrary, he distinctly mentions that the fact is so notorious, that it is almost the one only argument on which "the Papists" depend against him; and yet that it cannot be denied. "Listen," he says, "listen to the sermons of the Papists, or look into their books, and you will see that the only argument with which they attempt to combat us, consists in saying that no good has resulted from our doctrine. And, in truth, it must be confessed that scarcely had we begun to preach our Gospel, when one saw throughout the whole country a most terrible revolt; sects and schisms in the Church, and *everywhere the complete ruin of honesty, morality, and good order;* no one any longer dreaming of any thing else than how he may live independently, and according to the caprices of his own good pleasure; as if the preaching of the Gospel brought in its train the suppression of all law, right, and discipline. Licentiousness, and every kind of vice and wickedness, are, in all ranks of life, carried much further now-a-days than ever they were under the Papacy. Then at least there was some little regard for the observance of what was right, more especially among the common people: but now they know no limits or restraint of any kind; but live as the wild horse lives, without any shame or discretion, simply at the bidding of their most carnal appetites." "At the first commencement of our preaching, things were at least tolerable; but now there is no longer any fear of God; vice and infamy *go on increasing* every day. Because we delivered you *from those tight* bonds wherewith Popery was, as it were, *strangling you,* must you therefore seek to rid yourselves *of the very* Gospel itself and the law of God, that so you

may with a quiet conscience live according to your own lusts?" You see that, in these passages, Luther not only acknowledges the fact of the great increase of immorality, but also connects it immediately with the preaching of the Reformed faith, as its true cause; just as he did also in some other passages that I quoted at first.

Elsewhere he enters still more into detail, naming the particular virtues in which there had been a falling off in the practice of Protestants as compared with that of Catholics, and the particular vices which Protestantism had caused to multiply. Thus, with reference to alms-deeds, he says: "Under the Papacy there was a great ardour and a rare zeal to build new churches and to distribute alms; but now that men are instructed in the true religion, and know exactly what they ought to believe about good works, they are cold, slothful, and indifferent. I cannot sufficiently express my surprise at this!" Yet he himself confesses, that "when the word of God was first announced, twelve or fifteen years since,"—that is, when Protestantism was first preached,—"men came together from all parts to listen to it, *being enchanted to hear that they need no longer torment themselves about good works.*" Surely, after such an acknowledgment as this, it was mere hypocrisy to affect surprise at the decay of almsgiving or any other good work. Yet he repeats his lamentations on this subject again and again. "Under the Papacy a great number of foolish and useless works were done with great willingness, yea, with zeal, and at a very great expense. If they had been told to build a church in the middle of the river Elbe, they would have done it. But in our Church, on the contrary, at the very moment when we are labouring with the utmost diligence to teach the true doctrine about good works, men exhibit a degree of sloth and carelessness about doing good which surpasses all description. The more one exhorts them to good works, to love one another, to be detached from the engrossing cares of life, the more cold and indifferent they become towards every thing which can manifest or exercise the virtues of a Christian." "Whilst men *believed the* errors of Popery, they were always ready and *full of good*-will to undertake any good work; but now

one thinks of any thing but of saving, hoarding, robbing, and getting possession of his neighbour's property by lying, cheating, and usury. Every one behaves to his neighbour, not as though he were his brother in Jesus Christ, but rather his mortal enemy, whose goods it was his duty to endeavour to appropriate to himself. Such are now the notions and manners of all classes of society! Can you name a single town, in which there is charity enough to raise alms sufficient to maintain a minister of the gospel, or even a schoolmaster? If our [Catholic] ancestors had not made liberal provision by their alms and foundations, neither the burgesses of our towns, nor the lords and peasantry in the country, would make even the smallest sacrifice to help the cause of the Gospel, or to keep the pastor from dying of hunger and misery. That we have to-day pulpits from which the Gospel is preached, and schools in which Christianity is taught, is not owing to the present generation having provided the necessary funds for such purposes; but the needful has been obtained by plundering the old [Catholic] foundations; and, assuredly, there is no great merit in that." "Under the Papacy men were at least charitable, and there was no need of great importunity to persuade them to give; but under the Gospel men are no longer willing to assist the poor; instead of being ready to give, they rob and plunder one another. Avarice is become so common a sin, that there is no prince or gentleman, tradesman or labourer, who is not infected by it. All, great and small, from the king to the servant, are bent on saving and hoarding-up money. To say that these people are possessed with the devil, is scarcely to speak strong enough."

And as it fared with almsgiving under the new doctrines, so also with prayer. I have already told you, in the life of Luther, how that his own wife proposed to him one day this difficult problem: "Why are our prayers now so few and so lifeless, whereas under the Papacy they were *so frequent and* so fervent?" And on another occasion *Luther lamented* over this same falling off of zeal in him*self, and said that* he did not doubt but that many of his *other Reformers* must needs make the same acknowledg-

ment about themselves. And elsewhere he speaks of it as a general or universal fault. "We see," he says, "how little men occupy themselves with prayer. One would think that we have reason to be assured that the exhortations upon this subject do not concern us, and that we know of no better work than to abstain from prayer, now that we have abolished that everlasting repetition which was called the Rosary, as well as a host of other idolatrous prayers."

You see it is the same story over and over again. Under the Papacy men prayed a great deal, "that everlasting repetition called the Rosary, and a host of other prayers;" under the Gospel they seemed to think it the very height of perfection "to abstain from prayer." Under the Papacy men gave alms liberally; under the Gospel they hoard and save, or even rob and plunder. And could this be wondered at, when it had been urged by the Reformers, and by Luther himself, as a reproach against Catholics, that in the lives of the saints, who were held up as models to the Christian people, "all their merit was made to consist in their *having prayed much, fasted, and done many good works*; in their having led mortified lives, slept on the bare ground, &c.?" Is it wonderful, I say, that when frequency of prayer and other good works were thus blamed and held up to ridicule, men should eagerly catch at so flattering a doctrine, and gradually neglect them altogether?

It is needless to speak of fasting and mortification, as among the good works which prevailed under the Papacy but languished and came to nought under the influence of the Reformation. But it is worth while observing, that the very opposite of these virtues, namely, gluttony and drunkenness, are specially enumerated by Luther as some of the fruits which followed the acceptance of his doctrines. "I remember," he says, "that, in my younger days, nothing was more rare, even among persons of wealth, than the use of delicate meats and spirituous liquors. A great number of men lived even to the age of thirty years without ever so much as tasting a drop of wine; whereas now even children of tender years are accustomed to drink, r

wine only, but brandy and other strong liquors, and even early in the day." "I remember that in former times drunkenness was accounted among all persons of rank as something vile and disgraceful, and that the most famous princes punished it with very heavy penalties. But now the great lords and princes are almost worse in this regard than the people; for they seem almost to reckon it an honour and a glory to get drunk, and they despise those who refuse to wallow in the same filthy intemperance with themselves. What good is it to attack a vice which is become so general, and which reigns even in the houses of the great and the courts of princes? It has so gained possession of men's souls in every class of life, that no preaching, no exhortations, no remonstrances are any longer of avail; one is obliged to hold one's tongue, for we should not be listened to if we spoke; or rather, we should only be laughed at."

Another class of sins which began most frightfully to abound, in proportion to the prevalence of Protestant doctrine, I shall pass over with a slight allusion: I mean sins against Christian purity. From what has been said before about Luther's doctrine on the subject of marriage, and the maintenance of chastity by priests and monks and nuns, we should naturally have expected that infinite irregularities must needs have followed among those who embraced it; and so indeed it was. To say nothing of other forms of impurity which now became common in Protestant countries, Luther was continually applied to by ministers in various parts as to how they ought to act in the case of incestuous marriages. Luther himself, in some of his earlier writings, whilst inveighing against the strict laws of the Catholic Church in this matter, had distinctly maintained the lawfulness of marriage between persons nearly related: and that persons were not slow to avail themselves of the license thus given, is clear from one of his letters to a brother Reformer, in which he says, "What! *are there so few* widows and maidens in your country, that *a man is driven to* marry his niece, his sister-in-law, or *even some nearer* relative? It is true that some lines *have before now* escaped my pen which seemed to sane-

tion such marriages; but let them look rather at other and later writings, where that opinion will be found corrected and set in its true light." I have no other testimony at hand from the pen of Luther himself upon this subject; but nothing can be more revolting than the picture of universal and unrestrained profligacy which we find acknowledged and lamented by his colleagues in the work of reform. "Impurity and adultery are become so universal in the world," writes one, "that it is no longer reputed a sin or a shame, but is even made subject of public boast." "The vice of unchastity," writes another, "is made now-a-days a subject of laughter and amusement." "We see and hear (alas, God help us!)," writes a third, "that impurity and fornication have made frightful inroads among Christians; and have sunk their roots so deeply, that it is hardly any longer reputed a sin, but is rather gloried in as a noble and desirable thing, without sorrow or remorse of conscience." And we have before us at this moment the confessions of six or seven other Lutheran ministers of the same period, all acknowledging the very same thing in yet stronger and coarser language.

And, indeed, upon all these particulars of which I have spoken,—the decay of almsgiving, the neglect of prayer, the thirst after gold, the increase of gluttony and drunkenness, as well as of impurity, upon every one of these particulars,—it is not Luther only who makes those shocking representations which I have laid before you, but *all* the Reformers who have described the social condition of their country under the influences of Protestantism. I have confined myself to Luther for the sake of brevity, and because his name is most familiar to you, and you might hardly know, perhaps, if I were to quote from other writers, whether they were friends or foes of the new doctrines: nevertheless there are not wanting a host of witnesses, all of whom, although interested (for the credit of their religion) in concealing the true state of things, yet make the same humiliating acknowledgments. They almost speak as if a great increase of immorality were *the inseparable* accompaniment of the spread of Luther*anism.* "*If,*" says one of them, "if you would find

lic crimes—especially fornication, adultery, and merciless usury—prevailed so universally, that he called God to witness, that neither preaching, teaching, nor the terror of God's wrath and righteous judgments, was of any avail."

But it is time that we should drop the veil over this melancholy, this revolting picture. Doubtless all this is very different from the picture of the social and religious results of the Reformation which is ordinarily to be found in the works of modern Protestant historians; nevertheless, it has been taken entirely from Protestant authorities,—from the writings of those men who had the very best opportunity of knowing the truth, as having lived at the time, and were under the least possible temptation to exaggerate the evils which they describe, inasmuch as they were actively engaged in promoting that very work which was universally reputed to be their cause. I have laid before you only the unwilling, yet oft-repeated confessions of Luther and some of his colleagues, together with a few historical facts, of which there is the most certain proof; and I would have you seriously consider within yourselves the conclusion to which these facts and confessions inevitably lead. Make use of that common-sense, that shrewdness, and sagacity, which you apply to your temporal affairs; call to mind each item that has been here recorded, and say whether a work which promised the revival of true faith, and produced manifold error, scepticism, and unbelief,—which promised piety, and produced lukewarmness,—which promised a purer morality, and produced every kind of debauchery,—whether such a work as this, I say, bears tokens of a divine or a human origin; whether the Reformation was indeed what the Reformers called it, "God's own cause," or whether it was not a device of the devil, whereby he sought to draw thousands and tens of thousands of souls to everlasting perdition.

Library of Christian Doctrine.

RITES AND CEREMONIES.

IV.

CHURCH CEREMONIAL AND POPULAR DEVOTIONS.

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Rites and Ceremonies.

IV. Church Ceremonial and Popular Devotions.

It was the object of some former Tracts to vindicate the use of Church ceremonies from a charge often brought against them by Protestants, of being founded on the merely theatrical principle of display. It was shown that so contemptuous a notion of them is utterly inconsistent with the importance which the Catholic Church every where attaches to them, the sanctions under which she enforces their observance, and their evident bearing upon the purity and integrity of the Faith itself. It was urged that ceremonial religion has positive and most important uses of its own; that it is founded in an instinct of our nature, which leads us to perform with care and diligence every work with which our hearts go along; that prescribed rules are necessary to protect us against the slovenly tendencies of custom and association; that external order conduces directly to the sentiment of reverence in the ministers of religion no less than in the people; and that external order cannot be maintained without descending to *minutiæ*, as the practice even of the world abundantly shows in the "etiquettes," as they are called, of court society, which are frivolous only so far as they are employed in upholding what is frivolous, and cease to be so when they are directed to the maintenance of an institution so venerable as the Church of God.

This view of the subject has been put forth, not without a consciousness that there is, even among Catholics, a prevalent, and it may be a growing impression, that the study of ceremonial religion is unfriendly to objects at all times (as they would say) of unspeakably higher import-

ance, and no where more impressive in their force than in an essentially missionary country like our own. This objection, I can assure the reader, has been more than implicitly recognised throughout the whole of the discussion; it has been in a measure shared. The present and concluding paper of the series shall, therefore, be employed in considering it; in attempting to vindicate Church ceremonies from this far more serious charge than any which they encounter at the hands of the Protestant objector; and in determining their relation, of whatever kind it be, to the objects which are proposed under the name of "popular devotion."

The two great ends of religious worship would seem to be, 1st, to maintain the true idea of God in the world; and 2dly, to engage mankind in His service. These several ends run so much into one another, that perhaps the distinction between them is more or less an ideal one. Still, though the glory of God and the edification of man enter into both of them, the former of them has more direct reference to God and the latter to man. The one might be called the theological, the other the sacramental use of external religion. In the former point of view, worship is the great safeguard of true doctrine; in the latter it comes close upon the province of instruction. Now it must be borne in mind, that in all I have written and said upon the subject, I have been referring especially to *ceremonies*, properly so called, and have said of them, that their bearing upon popular edification is (not indeed insignificant and inconsiderable, but) less direct and immediate than their bearing upon doctrine. There can be no doubt that in their result, if not in their intention,—in their aggregate effect, if not in detail,—they tend, as the Council of Trent determines, to edification, particularly in that they promote the idea of reverence, and (I will add) of *love* also, in all that concerns the worship of Almighty God. This is proved by the testimony even of religiously-minded Protestants, who have often been heard to say that, amid all which they so much dislike *in Catholic* churches, there is no denying that the *idea of worship* is forcibly presented in our ecclesiastic *arrangements*. One point of ceremonial especially may

specified, as ministering directly to this idea—the effect of which is further evidenced by the antipathy with which the thorough Protestant regards it—the saying prayers towards the altar. This practice is, of course, the type and outward expression of a great principle, which becomes more and more apparent as we go on to contrast the language of Catholic with that of Protestant prayers; the former of which seem bent merely upon expressing our wants before God in the simplest terms, whereas the latter descend into all kinds of particulars, necessary, it may be, for the instruction of the hearers, but as foreign as possible to the spirit of a person in distress. But though it be quite true that this and other such arrangements *tell* very materially upon the minds of the people, and though it be true likewise that the ceremonies of the Church in their combination impress upon all unprejudiced beholders the ideas of order and beauty, yet there are many reasons, as I have already shown, for considering that such impression is rather the *result* of Catholic ceremonial than its *object;* and especially this, that the obligations which require a priest to observe the ceremonial of the Church in all its minuteness, are independent altogether of the presence of the people. The Church requires no congregation of assistants at her great offices; and it is certain (I cannot put the case more emphatically) that, if the Paschal High Mass were celebrated at St. Peter's with closed doors, the ceremonial would proceed with exactly the same accompaniments as at present, when it is carried out in the presence of myriads, gathered from all parts of the known world. The gorgeous display, as Protestants would term it, which gives effect to that great celebration,—the lights, the decorations, the music, and the circle of splendidly-vested attendants, is no compliment or concession to the public, but the simple consequence of a Papal High Mass. That such a Mass should be celebrated in the presence of numbers is an accident, which neither affects any of its essential arrangements, nor even enters into the thoughts of those who devise, or of those who carry into effect, the sacred rite.

But ceremonies, although a principal part of external

worship, do not constitute the entire of it. And it does not follow, because ceremonies are not in their primary intention addressed to the people, that therefore popular effect does not fall within the scope of other arrangements made with a view to divine worship. There is a great opportunity of interesting the minds of the people through the impressions of their senses in the province of ecclesiastical decoration and embellishment. There is also at present growing up amongst us (chiefly through increased communication with Rome) an almost new element in religious worship, known by the name of *Popular Devotion*, which, if it be taken in connection with the more directly ceremonial department of the Church, will require a somewhat modified application of the principles which have hitherto been laid down in dealing with this subject. And it is felt that our discussion would be even less complete than it is, did it overlook a part of the question upon which a great deal may be said with advantage.

With respect to the former point, the *embellishment* of external worship, a question arises which bears intimately upon our present subject. How far is it to be carried out upon the principles of art and according to approved rules of taste, and how far on the principle of simple concession to popular ideas? I hope that it will not seem inconsistent with the tenour of my former observations, if I express a very decided opinion in favour of consulting the popular, even to the prejudice of the more correct taste (where the two do not coincide), in every thing of this kind which is purely indifferent. In the ceremonial department of worship I would deviate in no single particular from the prescriptions of the Church in her rubrics, or in authoritative commentaries upon them. The order of the arrangements, the colour and form of the sacred vestments, the distribution of duties, and such-like accompaniments of the divine offices, are matters upon which the Church has spoken with more or less of emphasis; but upon questions such as architecture and ecclesiastical decoration she has ruled nothing *positive*; and where she does not rule, perfect *liberty of action* is most in accordance with her spirit. *Historical precedents* cannot bind in matters which may in

cently and rightly vary with the feeling of the time; local practice can have no claim upon universal adoption, where national character is of necessity so various, and, in all its innocent diversities, so suitable a guide in things immaterial. There is, indeed, one place in the world,—and but one, which does not stand upon neutral ground; the associations of which are so venerable, and the spirit of which is so marked, that its claim upon our deference certainly overflows the boundaries of strict authority. That place is the holy, apostolic city, the centre of unity, and the focus of Catholic love—Rome. Yet Rome, so far as it is a city of earth, as well as the metropolis of the Christian Church, may have its purely local tastes and associations, which are not necessarily to become the rule of other places. Indeed, the largest allowance of the principle of Catholicity, will still leave scope for the admission of certain national peculiarities. There is such a thing as a servile copying even of Roman practices, which may be compared with that kind of exaggerated loyalty to an individual (no common fault, by the way) whereby certain enthusiastic disciples are led to imitate their master's very gestures and tones of voice.

Indeed, there are cases, in which to follow the *principle* of an authoritative model is precisely *not* to follow every detail of its practice. This rule applies in the case before us. The principle, if I am not mistaken, upon which the arrangements of external worship are regulated at Rome in things purely indifferent, is that of accommodation to the popular taste. It happens, indeed, that the taste of the Romans is a very refined and cultivated taste; and hence the antagonism which we have supposed possible between the intrinsically beautiful and that which is popularly esteemed such, does not create the same difficulty at Rome as among ourselves. I fancy, then, that it is more in accordance with the gentle and loving spirit of Rome (as *represented* especially in her modern Apostle, St. Philip *Neri) to win the* populace to religion by any methods short *f sin, and, therefore,* to sacrifice all high imaginations of *tistic beauty,* all antiquarian predilections, all personal *ferences, to this* simple object. It were to be desired,

some may think, that English and Irish labourers, and the sellers of oranges, and the grinders of street-organs, and the vendors of white mice, and all that numerous class of destitute, but often well-disposed Catholics, who constitute the staple of our population and the bulk of our congregations, had a deeper appreciation of the delicacies of musical sound, or the refinements of pictorial art; but it seems a very short-sighted policy, which would convert the Church into a school of art, and keep souls waiting till tastes are cultivated. As it is, the Church, I fear, must patiently endure at the hands of critics the imputation of vulgarity, if she would do her work in the quarters where it is most needed. What lover of souls will deny that a daub, which delights the school-boy, is better furniture for a church, than a masterpiece which rivets the connoisseur? Now it sometimes happens, that what is intrinsically richest is accidentally most striking; and in such cases let us choose, if we have the means, what is most appropriate to the object, as well as most attractive to the people. Gold and jewels, for instance, answer both ends; but, if we cannot have them, is it not better to have something which looks like them in the eyes of the people, and conveys the *idea* of grandeur and beauty, than to fall back on principles of taste and a morbid fear of *shams?* All honour, say I, to the manufacturers of artificial flowers (for we cannot have the natural all the year round), and to the fabricators of spangles and tinsel! They have done service to religion as well as their betters. And let my apology to the benevolent reader who may quarrel with my sentiments be this—that I write on St. Philip Neri's day.

A further qualification of the principle is suggested by the character of popular devotions. A popular devotion means, if any thing, a religious exercise intended especially for the benefit of the people. Its very name, therefore, implies that it should be arranged with an immediate view to the people's edification. Hence popular devotions differ from festal celebrations; and, again, from the offices of a religious or ecclesiastical community, the "end" of which *is not so much* popular edification as the correct carrying *out of a certain* external duty. Do popular devotio

then, involve any contrariety to the ceremonial principles hitherto laid down? By no manner of means; no more than the convex and concave sides of a glass imply opposition. Festive celebrations and popular devotions are but different sides of the great work of external religion, in the one of which popular edification is the primary—in the other, the secondary end. Take the language, for instance: no one would say that the Latin is preferred for edification's sake, but for other great reasons. But where the Church descends from her purely intercessory character, and admits the people to a direct share in her religious acts, she has no difficulty in employing the vernacular as the medium of the common prayer.

What I would contend against, is the notion that ceremonial and popular devotions have not each a place in the Church's institution. There is no kind of antagonism between them, as is proved in practice as well as maintainable on principle. Take Rome, for example. It is hard to say whether ceremonial propriety or popular attractiveness be the more prominent characteristic of external religion in the Holy City. A greater difference cannot be conceived, as far as the mere outward impression is concerned, than between what is called a "Funzione" at St. Peter's, and a Retreat or Mission in one of the city churches. Yet if we look more closely into the two, we shall see that both are equally developments of the same idea, though in different forms. The "ceremonial" of the popular devotion is just as precise and as careful as that of the "function." This ought to be well observed. We may come to think that because English devotions are for the people, and because the people are not scandalised by the neglect of ceremonies, so that the general effect be orderly, we are at liberty to slur over rubrics at a "Devotion" which we must observe in a "Function." But if we bear in mind that the Church, however liberal in things indifferent, is always strict in the enforcement of her prescribed forms, we shall *see that to change* the character of the rite is not to justify *a departure from* the rules according to which the Church *would have it* carried out. And thus there ought to be no *excuse for such* as allow slovenliness to creep into the less

formal rites of the Church, or for such as object to them because of their tendency to weaken reverence. Let us remember that as a great festive celebration is not necessarily otherwise than "popular," because the people are not consulted in its arrangements, so "popular devotion" is not otherwise than ecclesiastical, because ordered with a view to the interest and edification of the multitude.

It may not be amiss to conclude with a brief account of some of the aids to popular devotion. The whole class of religious exercises so denominated seems to be a creation of comparatively later times. The institution of festivals in honour of the Blessed Sacrament, and the popular devotion of the Rosary, may, perhaps, be thought to have originated them; but it is undoubtedly to the missionary orders of a still more recent period that they owe their actual prevalence in the Church. They have also been greatly furthered by the foundation of Confraternities. In earlier times of the Church, ecclesiastical duties seem to have taken more decidedly than at present the two forms of sacrifice and preaching. These popular devotions form a kind of intermediate link; and while partaking of the intercessory character of the Mass, or Divine Office, and of the instructive character of preaching, give a large scope for the admission of the congregational principle. It was when, in the time of St. Thomas Aquinas, the doctrine of the Blessed Eucharist was first brought out in its popular aspect, that the foundation was laid of this great development of the modern Church. The great missionary saints of later times have followed up the grand idea, and the Church has promoted it by means of those numberless aids to devotion which are always at her command.

1. *By Indulgences.* The Church is ever ready to draw upon the treasury of which she has the keeping, in order to encourage practices of piety which are in accordance with her institution. The bestowal of these spiritual favours becomes at once the expression of her sanction and the incentive to the devotion of the faithful. The holiest of her *members* are precisely those who are most alive *to their need of these* remissory concessions; they deep *feel that they can* never gain too many indulgences.

loving and how compassionate a Mother is this, who hangs her favours upon such light conditions, that all her duties become delights, and her very absolutions fresh rewards! To spend a few minutes in the invocation of Mary by all her sweet titles, or to follow our Jesus along the Way of the Cross, or to bury care and sorrow in the abyss of His Sacred Heart—behold the penalties of love's enamelled code, the expiations which satisfy the requirements of a Mother's justice!

2. *Confraternities*, which are pious associations formed with a view of promoting some special devotion, and of which the subject of such devotion is the cementing bond. The institution of confraternities is one of the principal methods by which the Church strikes her roots deep into human society. In the world no great movement is carried on without corporate action. The world well understands the use of meetings and processions, of badges and banners. Even confraternities, like all else which is good, may be abused; and those who have to do with them often find it difficult to keep them clear of a worldly spirit. But when duly regulated, they are among the most useful handmaids of the Church, and propagate, by the aid of social influences, the cause of her chief devotions. Who has not heard of the wonders which have been effected through the arch-confraternity of the Holy and Immaculate Heart at Paris? of all the love it has won to Blessed Mary, and of all the favours it has been the means of obtaining through her intercession? In one of the most abandoned quarters of Paris it has created a population of devoted Catholics. It has extended its ramifications throughout Europe, and even into the more distant parts of the globe. It is the very bank, or rather mint, of Christendom, into which the prayers of myriads are cast, and in which they are coined into blessings unspeakable. Who that has frequented the weekly offices of this marvellous institute, has failed to observe the interest it has conciliated to religion in the very classes most obnoxious to the powers of the world? The number of persons of the male sex who are seen before the altar and image of our Immaculate Lady—advocates, merchants, soldiers, courtiers, those whose brows

re furrowed with worldly care, and those whose counte-
ances are radiant with youthful hope—attests the marvel-
ous, the miraculous, results which have blessed the un-
ring efforts of the good Abbé Desgenettes. May his later
ears be visited with the abundance of peace, till he re-
eive the crown of his labours, the welcome of his heavenly
Iother, whose glory he has so signally promoted, and the
enediction of her Divine Son, whose interests are one
'ith hers!

3. *Novenas.* Among the auxiliaries of the Church's
reat work, none has been found more serviceable than
ourses of prayer and instruction preliminary to the Festi-
als. The Roman 'Raccolta di Novene' supplies the form
'hich is growing more and more into use in England. It
tands to reason, that the way to get a festival duly ho-
oured is, to work its subject, as one may say, into the
inds and hearts of the people; and the Holy Spirit
s sure to visit with His especial grace those who have
ius for a series of days opened themselves, by formal
cts of devotion, to His sacred inspirations. These nove-
as are always conducted in the vernacular, and generally
nterspersed with short hymns. They are also permitted
y the custom of the Church (recognised in our own coun-
y) to be blended with the Benediction of the Most Holy
acrament; and form the only exception to the rule by
hich devotions in the presence of the Adorable are re-
uired to be in the language of the Church.

4. *Vernacular Psalmody*, which has its warrant at
ome in the hymns to the Blessed Sacrament, to the Cru-
fix, and to our Lady, which are sung by the populace
ith so much enthusiasm at Benedictions and processions.

5. *Special Offices*, the recitation of which is indulgen-
ed, though not of obligation. These, again, form a kind of
nk between the liturgical and the popular branch of ecclesi-
stical devotion. Occasionally they have been incorporated,
fter a time, into the regular ritual of the Church, as in the
stance of the offices of the Passion in Lent, and of the
acred *Heart*, after the festival of Corpus Christi.

On the whole, we seem to have found a principle d
't from the liturgical and ceremonial, though auxil

to that on which the more formal celebrations of the Church are founded, to which may truly be referred some of the greatest successes of our holy Mother in her later ages. Without descending from her dignity, she has contrived to mingle with the people in the most affectionate intercourse; fit type and representative of Her, who is at once the most exalted of queens and the most amiable of mothers. There is no avenue to the human heart or intellect which the Catholic Church does not command; and thus each weapon of controversial attack which is directed against her recoils upon the enemy. She has met every objection that can be raised against her, not in combat, but by calm anticipation. Hence she is the object of the most contradictory accusations. At one time she is charged with holding off from the people, with repelling them by a cold and haughty exterior; at another she is described as stooping to popular arts, and putting herself on a level with the base multitude. She is at once, as her enemies represent her, tyrannical and servile, distant and adulatory, formal and too familiar, combining the dogmatism of the schools with the license of the meeting-house. The true interpretation of these various and inconsistent charges is to be found in the versatility and pliability of the methods employed by our holy Mother in her quest of souls. In this service she hesitates not to adopt every expedient which is free from sin. The precedents of history, the authority of great names, the prejudice of large classes, the axioms of taste, are as nothing to one who estimates all things simply by their relation to God. In His sight nothing is evil but sin; every thing which is merely indifferent is turned to good when used with a pure intention and directed to a right end. If the Church be subjected to contradictory imputations, this is no other than a testimony to the identity of her spirit with that of her Divine Lord, of whom one said, that He was lax, and another, that He was austere. In the Divine character every attribute has so definite a place, yet all are so sweetly attempered, that it will needs present different sides to those who contemplate it from different points of view; and the captious, while they appear to reflect on its contrarieties, are really doing homage to its perfections.

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THE

LIFE OF THOMAS CRANMER,

FIRST PROTESTANT ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

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THE

LIFE OF THOMAS CRANMER,

FIRST PROTESTANT ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

It is no pleasant task to read or to write the lives of bad and worthless men. And since, by the confession even of Protestant writers, the chief authors and abettors of what people call the Reformation were men in whose characters we should look in vain for love of truth and honesty, and whose lives show but little even of outward purity and morality, it may be augured that we are about to enter on no grateful labour, when we propose to bring into the light of day the life and character of Thomas Cranmer, the chief promoter, author, and leader, of the Protestant Reformation in England. But there is good reason why we should do so. For although we often hear Protestants acknowledging that they cannot and do not defend all that was done by individuals at the Reformation,—that Henry VIII. doubtless was a bad and wicked king, though raised up, like another Jehu, by God as an unworthy instrument to do His will,—that Cromwell, Somerset, and the other lay reformers, were profligate and abandoned men, who forwarded the "new religion" because they hoped to fill their pockets out of the spoils of the churches and monasteries,—yet they commonly go on to add, that in Cranmer and his brother-bishops we may find men who were sincerely desirous of reforming the abuses of the day, without destroying the *sacred ties* which bound together every portion of the *Catholic Church*; men who ardently longed to return to the *pure doctrines* and practices of the primitive ages; who *felt that the* Holy Scriptures were hidden and obscured,

nd that they had a mission to fulfil, in bringing forward heir sacred doctrines for the salvation of souls thirsting for he true word of God; and who, therefore, nobly and gene- ously chose to perish at the stake rather than desert the ause of the Bible and the Gospel, a cause dearer to them han life itself. It is for such persons that the following ages are written; and to them I address myself.

After all, then, are you so sure that Cranmer was a ervant of God? that he was a *religious* man? that he was to take the lowest ground) even an *honest* man? We shall ee. Burnet and Hume, it is true, are not silent in his raise; but then both the one and the other wrote with he special purpose of supporting and handing down to osterity the great Protestant tradition; and besides, the ishonesty of both the one and the other has been shown p by many Protestant writers who are above falsehood; nd by none with more effect than by Dr. Maitland,* the arned librarian of the late Protestant Archbishop of Can- erbury. So that it is quite possible that, upon a little closer nspection, you may find the bright colours fade away in hich you have been taught from your childhood to regard his great British reformer. And if this should prove to be he case, then I would beg you to advance one step further, nd question the excellence of that religion of which he owed the seed in this country.

It cannot be said that I am giving Cranmer too pro- inent a position, when I place him foremost among the aders of the English Reformation; for it is the position ssigned him by Protestants themselves. "The name of his most reverend prelate," says one of his biographers, 'deserves to stand upon eternal record; as having been he first Protestant archbishop of this kingdom, and the reatest instrument under God of the happy Reformation f this Church of England." Neither, again, can it be ob- ected against us, that Protestants of the present day have isowned him; for we may appeal to the monument which as erected to his memory in Oxford, not many years since, ear the scene of his death; since certainly men do not

* Essays on the Reformation.

erect monuments in memory of those whom they hate or despise, but only of those whom they love and reverence. It is far from being an unimportant matter, therefore, that we should form a right estimate of this Protestant saint and martyr; and with this view let us examine into the details of his life.

Now, in order to appreciate the various points of Cranmer's history, you must bear in mind some of the events of the reigns of King Henry VIII. and Edward VI., as well as of the early portion of that of Mary. You will not forget the way in which the former king, who for his zeal against Luther had gained from the Pope the title of "Defender of the Faith," afterwards became enamoured of Anne Boleyn, and, in order to gratify his passion, sought to be divorced from his wife, Catherine of Arragon; how he persisted in this wicked purpose in defiance of the Pope, and at the cost of rending this kingdom of England from the unity of the Church; how, shortly after he had accomplished his end, Anne Boleyn fell a victim to the tyrant's caprice; how afterwards, in a very brief space of time, he married four more wives, of whom he divorced one and beheaded another; and, having spoiled all the monasteries on which he could lay his hands, died a miserable and impenitent death. You will remember how he was succeeded by his young son Edward, a weak and sickly boy, in whose name a host of nobles exercised the royal power and completely Protestantised the kingdom, destroying or plundering what little share of the Church's wealth had escaped the greedy hands of his father, in order to enrich themselves, their children, and their grandchildren. You will remember, too, how, on the death of Edward, a rival claimant to Mary's throne appeared, and was even proclaimed as queen, I mean the Lady Jane Grey; and lastly, how, as the Protestant religion had been established by Parliament in the two preceding reigns, so, on Mary's accession, the same authority completely restored the good old Catholic faith, so that it *again* became the national religion.

And now let us see what part Cranmer played in all these events.

He was the son of Thomas Cranmer, Esq., a gentleman

of good family, which had been settled for many generations at Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire; and there our Protestant archbishop was born in the year 1489. According to the fashion of the times, he was brought up in the village school, where, it is said, he learned little and suffered much hardship. At the age of fourteen he was sent to Jesus College, Cambridge, where he applied himself with great diligence to the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages, of theology, and canon law. He became a fellow of his college; but marrying at a very early age, he lost his fellowship. On the death of his wife, which happened about a year afterwards, this was restored to him: and he seems to have enjoyed a considerable reputation for ability and learning; for Cardinal Wolsey, who was seeking at this time through the English and foreign universities for men of talent to fill the posts of professors in his new college at Oxford, offered Cranmer, we are told, one of these professorships. The offer was declined, as he preferred to remain amongst his former friends and associates at Cambridge. We next find him at Waltham Abbey, engaged as tutor to the sons of Mr. Cressy, a kinsman of his own; and this was the turning-point of his life, for it was during his residence at this place that he was introduced to the notice of the king.

That wicked tyrant was now bent upon the gratification of his unhallowed passion for Anne Boleyn; and was looking on every side for some one to aid him in his infamous purpose, when Cranmer came to the rescue. Henry's difficulty was this: he was anxious to be divorced from his wife; but the only authority which could take cognisance of such causes, and could declare with authority the invalidity of a marriage, was the Pope, the head of the universal Church. It would not do to lay before the Pope the real reason for Henry's wish, viz. that he had fallen in love with another woman; so he affected qualms of conscience; he professed to have grave scruples as to the validity of his original marriage with Catherine, because she had been previously married to his brother. This question had been *inquired into at* Rome at the time of the marriage, and a *dispensation had* been granted on the ground that the *first marriage* had not been consummated. Henry

Catherine were, therefore, married in the sight of God and of the Church; they had lived together seventeen years, during which time she had borne the king five children. It was not to be expected, therefore, that the Pope should grant the desired divorce, for which there were no just grounds. The king, then, looked right and left for some other way of gaining his end. About this time Gardiner (afterwards a bishop) met with Cranmer at the house of Mr. Cressy, and, struck with his learning, engaged him in conversation on the subject of the divorce, asking him how he would proceed if the business were intrusted to him. Cranmer craftily replied, that he would obtain the opinion of the most learned universities in Europe on the validity of a marriage contracted under such circumstances. Gardiner reported this answer to the king,—a probability which Cranmer, we may easily suppose, had taken into consideration when he made his reply, as Gardiner was well known to be employed by the king in forwarding the affair in question, having already been twice despatched to Rome to sue for the divorce. When Henry heard the suggestion of his hitherto unknown and obscure subject, he was highly delighted, and expressed his feelings in rather an unrefined and coarse manner,—a thing, I must tell you, by no means unusual with him. "He has gotten the sow by the right ear," he exclaimed. Cranmer had certainly found the right way to the ear of the royal pig, for he was immediately sent for to court. He obeyed the summons very readily, and the king was highly pleased with his discourse. It could hardly be otherwise. A clever tool is invaluable. Cranmer's worldly fortune was now secured; and he was forthwith received into the family of Sir Thomas Boleyn, Anne Boleyn's father, whom Henry created, first, Viscount Rochford, and then Earl of Wiltshire.

Cranmer was directed by the king carefully to examine the affair, and draw up his opinion in writing. His interests and the Boleyns' had now become identified; we need not, therefore, be surprised to find him treated with much kindness and familiarity by them. But what may well surprise those who would desire to find a model of virtue in the father of the Protestant Reformation in this coun-

try is, the utter recklessness with which he seemed to view the scandalous position which the Lady Anne occupied with reference to the king. I do not believe that the most thorough-going Protestant of the present day gives king Henry the benefit of a doubt as to the honesty of his convenient scruples; but granting that some of his very loyal subjects might have thought more charitably of him, still his marriage with Catherine had not been annulled by any competent authority, nor even by any authority pretending to be competent: far from it. Yet Anne was openly receiving the homage of the king, accompanying him in public, and taking the place, in the face of all the world, of his virtuous and injured queen. And we find Cranmer writing to the Earl of Wiltshire from Durham House (part of the confiscated possessions of the see of Durham, which Henry had conferred on his favourite), and coolly chronicling the movements of the king and his mistress for his correspondent's information.

When he had finished his book, in which he had, of course, proved to his own and the king's satisfaction that the marriage with Catherine was not valid, he was sent to Rome, to see if he could prove the same thing there to the satisfaction of the Pope; for he had been bold enough to say that he would maintain his opinion before his Holiness. Accordingly, in 1530 he repaired to Rome, with the Earl of Wiltshire and others. But not all the subtlety and special pleading of Cranmer and his companions, could convince the Pope and the Cardinals that it was right in the sight of God to sacrifice a virtuous and honourable queen to the unhallowed lust of the king for his mistress. Having thus failed in his mission, he left Rome, saying that he could hope for no favour there, but to have the Pope and all the Cardinals declare against the divorce; and he passed into Germany, where an event took place which involved him in considerable difficulty. At Nuremberg he became acquainted with Osiander the Reformer, and between these men a close intimacy soon sprang up. There he met with and married Osiander's niece. Now Cranmer was a priest, *and was consequently* bound to celibacy; his marriage w *therefore* a grievous mortal sin. But who can won *at his fall*, when it is borne in mind how he had ever

at the immorality of the king and of his patron's daughter. Perhaps Protestants, who very commonly have a great dislike to a religious state of celibacy, and consider it as highly desirable that the clergy should be permitted to marry, will be inclined to think very lightly of Cranmer's offence; nay, will reckon it no offence at all, but a proof that he was above the superstitious prejudices in which he had been educated. I certainly do not expect Protestants to see the full amount of his guilt as Catholics do; but it is only necessary to respect the common principles by which good men rule themselves, to condemn him at once for violating an engagement to which his profession bound him. Such conduct is sheer dishonesty at any rate: but we shall see more of this by and by.

When Cranmer returned to England, he did not dare to bring his wife with him. But in the year 1534 he sent for her privately, and lived with her till 1539, when he again sent her back to Germany in secret; for the king was strongly opposed to the marriage of the clergy, and would not consent to the relaxation of that portion of Catholic ecclesiastical discipline. Cranmer's marriage involved others in a similar difficulty; for there were those who were not slow to follow the example he set.

In 1532 Archbishop Warham died, and the king, determined to reward Cranmer for past services, as well as to secure him on his side for the time to come, appointed him to the archbishopric. Of course, had his marriage been known, it would have prevented his promotion; for the Holy See would not have confirmed the appointment of a man who had so flagrantly broken his vows. But Cranmer, as we have seen, was not a man of scruples. His conscience was by no means sensitive or tender; and he evaded the difficulty by concealing his marriage. But this is not the only circumstance attending his appointment to the archbishopric which brings out the detestable meanness and hypocrisy of his character. It was necessary that he should take an oath of canonical obedience to the Pope before he could receive consecration. Cranmer was determined not to obey the Pope, and yet he took the oath. He silenced his conscience by making a protest, which, with

the consent of the king, to whose service he had sold himself, he read before witnesses *privately* assembled in the Chapter House. The purport of this protest was, that he did not intend to bind himself to any thing contrary to the law of God, *or prejudicial to the rights of the king, or to such reforms as he might judge useful to the Church of England.* Attended by the same persons who had been his witnesses, he proceeded to the high altar, and after declaring to them that he adhered to the protestation which he had read before them, he immediately took the oath of obedience to the Pope. Then followed the consecration, after which he again reminded his private witnesses that he adhered to his protest. His next act was to reiterate his oath to the Pope, thus deliberately confirming his perjury, after which he received the pall from the hands of the Pope's delegates. None but his five witnesses were acquainted with his protest, and none but they heard, or at least understood, his words when he reminded them of it. Let his friends and admirers excuse his conduct as they may, it cannot be denied that oaths no longer offer any security, if their meaning may be qualified by previous protestations made *privately and without the knowledge of the party who is principally interested.*

Cranmer knew well enough the work he was expected to do. As a preliminary, Henry caused an Act of Parliament to be passed forbidding all appeals to the Holy See from the spiritual judges (he had already declared himself supreme head of the Church of England); and then began a solemn farce between himself and his primate, the latter declaring by letter that it was a duty he owed to God and the king, to put an end to the doubts respecting the validity of Henry's marriage;—prostrate at the feet of his Majesty, such were his expressions, he begged permission to examine the cause, calling God to witness he had no other motive than the relief of his own conscience and the benefit of the realm. The king graciously consented; reminding him, however, by the way, that spiritual jurisdiction belonged to the crown, and that he had no earthly *superior.* Henry had not, in fact, waited for his archbishop's decision, but had privately married his mistress

already. Cranmer now cited Catherine to appear before him at Dunstable. She took no notice of the summons, not choosing by any act of hers to admit the jurisdiction of the archbishop. She was immediately declared contumacious; and the proceedings being hurried over with all possible speed, Cranmer pronounced judgment, declaring that the marriage between her and Henry was null and invalid, having been contracted against the Divine prohibition. He then wrote a letter to the king, exhorting him to submit to God's will, and to avoid those censures which he would incur by persisting in a union forbidden by the Divine law. Some things would be ludicrous, were they not too wicked to provoke to mirth; and surely this letter of the great Reformer may be reckoned among them. It is really wonderful how the tyrant and his hypocritical tool could look each other in the face; the former having long separated from his virtuous wife and married Anne Boleyn at the end of the January preceding, exactly four months previously, and the archbishop being perfectly cognisant of the fact. It was, no doubt, to silence any question which might be raised from Henry's marriage having preceded the divorce, that Cranmer immediately held another court at Lambeth, in which he declared that Henry and Anne were and had been joined together in lawful wedlock; that their marriage was and had been public and manifest; and that he, moreover, confirmed it by his judicial and pastoral authority. It is certain that the king was publicly married about this time to Anne (probably immediately after the judgment): a step which was necessary in order to legitimise in the eyes of the world the child that was so soon to be born. As for the irregularity of his private marriage having taken place before the divorce, Henry had satisfied himself by declaring that he had examined the cause "in the court of his own conscience, which was enlightened and directed by the Spirit of God, who possesseth and directeth the hearts of princes!"

I will now, without interruption, take a cursory view *of the part Cran*mer played in Henry's subsequent divorces *and marriages*. It might be supposed, that such an amount *of perjury* and double-dealing as I have briefly related

would have been sufficient to brand as infamous the memory of any man; yet that Cranmer should have arrived at the honours of a Protestant canonisation, in despite not only of this but of all that was to follow, is perhaps one of the most portentous instances on record of what men's prejudices will effect in the way of warping their moral judgments.

About three years after her marriage, the day of retribution for Anne Boleyn arrived. Disappointed of a son—the great object of his wishes, and beginning to weary of the wife he had so lately idolised, Henry fixed his capricious affections on Jane Seymour, one of her maids of honour. Henceforward he needed but a pretext to get rid of Anne. In this humour of mind, his jealousy was readily awakened by some acts of levity on the part of Anne. Of course, it is not at all improbable that she, who had previously behaved with such entire disregard for morality, may have also misconducted herself after her marriage; but, be this as it may, we have no good evidence of the fact. All we know is, that the charge was brought against her, and that the king was resolved upon her death, without the shadow of a trial as to her guilt or innocence. He had, however, a second object in view. To get rid of her by death was not sufficient. He was desirous of setting aside the Princess Elizabeth, her daughter, as illegitimate, as he had already done in the case of the Princess Mary, the only surviving child of his lawful wife Catherine, in order to settle the succession to the crown on the children of his intended marriage with Jane Seymour. And who so well qualified to assist the king in this new crime, as he who had already shown himself so ready in complying with his wicked caprices? Yes, indeed; incredible as it may seem, the very man who had risen through the favour of Anne Boleyn, who had three years before annulled the marriage of Henry with Queen Catherine, and sanctioned his adulterous connection with Anne,—now comes forward at the bidding of his master to release him from his second union!

Upon the day following the arrest of Anne, Cranmer *was ordered* to repair to his palace at Lambeth, and

pressly forbidden to venture into the royal presence. No harm was really intended him; but Henry thought fit to administer a little wholesome dose of terror to his archbishop, that he might be ready to play the part expected from him. This might be the more necessary, as it must have been an unwelcome task for him to declare this marriage, which he had helped to bring about and then solemnly confirmed, to be after all null and void; and he must have been destitute of all natural feeling, if he had not felt some little shame and repugnance at lending a hand to the undoing of her who had been his stepping-stone to fortune.

It may be presumed, indeed, that Cranmer felt that common decency required him to make some apparent effort in the queen's behalf, since he ventured (if so guarded an appeal can be called a venture) to write a letter to Henry. Herein he professed himself "clean amazed;" his former good opinion of the queen prompted him to think her innocent, yet his knowledge of the king's prudence and justice induced him to believe her guilty. Next to the king, she had been to him the greatest benefactor; and he therefore hoped he might be allowed to wish and pray that she might establish her innocence (can any thing surpass the mild expression of this hope?); but if she did not, he should reckon him a faithless subject who did not call for the severest punishment on her head. This letter was written, but not despatched, when he was summoned to meet some commissioners in the Star-chamber, who laid before him the proofs of the queen's guilt, and informed him of the duty expected from him. Cranmer therefore added a postscript to his letter, in which, after manifesting his readiness to comply with the king's desire, he expressed himself very sorry that such faults could be proved against the queen, concluding: "and I am, and ever shall be, your faithful subject."* Cranmer's immediate proceedings leave no doubt as to the purport of the communication of the commissioners. This Protestant prelate seems to have

* *To show that* a tone of adulation was not peculiar to Cranmer, *but that other* Protestant bishops betrayed the same spirit in their *habitual language*, I subjoin a curious letter of Bishop Latimer's, a *same as much* honoured by Protestants as Cranmer's, on the occasion

held that the will of the king was the only measure of right and wrong; and, adopting as his own the objections to the validity of the marriage with which he had been furnished, he called upon Henry and Anne, "as they loved the salvation of their souls," to come forward and say why sentence should not be pronounced. It is really shocking to see with what little scruple this wicked man makes use of the most solemn expressions. He uses the most awful words at the very moment that he is committing the most atrocious acts. Thus we find him declaring, *In the name of Christ, and having God alone before his eyes*, that this marriage, which he had so recently confirmed, had been null and void from the beginning.

A timid and servile parliament confirmed his decision. The real nature of the objection on which the divorce is founded is not stated in the judgment, and there has been a difference of opinion among historians on the subject: whatever it was, it was got up for the occasion, as Cranmer well knew. He must also have known equally well, that if

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of the birth of Edward VI. It may serve also as a specimen of the narrow national basis (in contradistinction to Catholic) which the Establishment assumed from the beginning.

LETTER OF BISHOP LATIMER TO CROMWELL AND THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,—We salute in Christ Jesu. And, sir, here is no less joying and rejoicing in these parts for the birth of our prince, whom we hungered for so long, than there was, I trow, by the neighbours at the birth of John the Baptist, as this bearer, Mark Evance, can tell you. God give us grace to yield due thanks to our Lord God, the God of England, or rather an *English God*, (!!) if we consider and ponder well all his proceedings with us from time to time. He hath overcome all our illness with his exceeding goodness; so that we are now more compelled to serve him, seek his glory, and promote his word, if the devil of all devils be not in us. We have now the stop of vain trusts, the stay of vain expectations! Let us all pray for his preservation. And I, for my part, well wish that his grace always have, and even now from the beginning, governors, instructors, and officers of right judgment. But what a great *fowll* am I! So that devotion showeth at times but little discretion; and thus the God of England be with you in all your proceedings.

"*P.S.* If you would excite the bearer of this to be more hearty *against the abuse of* imagery, and more forward to promote the very *it might do good*, not that it came of me but of yourself."

the marriage had been always invalid, then Henry had no right to condemn Anne to death as an unfaithful wife; and yet this transaction took place two days after Anne's death-warrant had been signed, and only two days before her execution. But what was that to him? he was doing his master's bidding. Henry married Jane Seymour the very day after Anne Boleyn was beheaded; and it is worth noticing, that, as Cranmer was called upon to grant a dispensation on account of some affinity between the king and his intended wife, the document must have been actually preparing while the unhappy Anne was still alive. I need make no comment. Who that has any feeling for what is just, humane, or even decent, can read the plain account of such things without a mixture of disgust and horror?

The next divorce in which Cranmer had to officiate (for we have not done with him in this capacity) was not so tragic an affair; but nothing could well surpass it in flagrant injustice. Jane Seymour having died in childbirth, the king was desirous of providing himself with a new wife. The exaggerated description of the personal charms of Anne of Cleves, a German Protestant princess, made to him by his envoys, and a flattering portrait by Holbein, induced the king to offer her his hand. The Protestant party hoped much from this alliance; but, unfortunately for its advisers, the king was beyond measure disappointed when he saw his bride, and was very anxious to send her back under pretence of some pre-contract. His wishes, however, were overruled for the present by the counsel of those around him; and Cranmer himself declared there was no impediment to the marriage. Henry, therefore, was married to Anne of Cleves; but it cost Cromwell, his vicar-general, and the great promoter of the marriage, his head within a few months—Henry considering that his domestic happiness had been sacrificed by his minister to the interests of a religious faction. Cranmer made a timid and cautious appeal *in his behalf*, and five days later thought it prudent to give *his vote in favour* of the attainder. The divorce quickly *followed*. As usual, the responsibility of the affair was *thrown upon others*; Henry was to be solicited to have the

validity of his marriage examined. In this petition Cranmer was one of the parties. Henry graciously assented; and the inquiry was referred by convocation to a committee, which, with the primate at its head, unanimously pronounced the marriage void on the most futile grounds; the main objection alleged being the person of the queen, which did not satisfy Henry's fastidious taste: and so it was pretended that he had married her only for reasons of state, and had given no inward consent by any act of the will during the ceremony. Well might the French ambassador exclaim, "He is a marvellous man, and has marvellous people about him."

Henry's next wife was Catherine Howard: but the events to which she owed her elevation made the Reformers her enemies; and Cranmer trembled lest he should follow Cromwell to the block. Having therefore become privately acquainted with the fact that Catherine had misconducted herself in her early youth, he officiously communicated it to Henry; and we find him artfully endeavouring to draw a confession of her guilt from the unhappy queen, under an assurance of mercy from the king. Cranmer, it is true, did not *wish* to compass her death, but aimed only at a divorce; and he therefore urged Catherine to confess to a pre-contract with her seducer, which might be the means of saving her life. This, however, she perseveringly refused to do; and her death, therefore, could alone give Henry the release he wanted. Nothing like proof of her misconduct since marriage could be found; nevertheless, a bill of attainder against her was laid before parliament, and passed both houses. The iniquitous sentence met with no opposition, and Catherine Howard underwent the fate of Anne Boleyn. I have now done with this part of my subject; for as Henry's sixth wife, Catherine Parr, survived him, Cranmer was not called upon to make or unmake any more marriages.

I shall now notice a few particulars, bearing upon Cranmer's character, which appertain to his conduct in his ecclesiastical capacity. I am not writing a history, however *brief, of the Reformation*; yet, to detail all Cranmer's proceedings, would involve such a history, and for this I b

no space. I must confine myself, therefore, to presenting mere samples of his conduct, and making some general observations.

Notwithstanding the oaths of allegiance to the Holy See, which he had taken both at his ordination and consecration, we find him assisting the king in all the different steps by which the power of the Pope was abolished in England. Henry's supremacy was established by act of parliament; and his vicar-general, Cromwell, though a layman, took precedence of the archbishop,—a privilege extended even to his clerks representing him. To such degradation did Cranmer subject himself, and the Church he presided over, in his person. But this was not all. When the king, at the infamous Cromwell's suggestion (the first adviser of a separation from the Holy See), required from the bishops a practical acknowledgment that their authority was derived not from Christ but from the crown, Cranmer slavishly complied, sending a circular to the other prelates, to inform them that the king intended to make a general visitation, and had therefore suspended their powers. These time-serving bishops submitted; and, after a month had elapsed, humbly petitioned to be restored to their authority. A commission was then issued to each bishop, authorising him during the king's pleasure, and as the king's deputy, to ordain persons within his diocese, and to do all other things which belonged to the office of a bishop: and the reason assigned for this permission was, not that the government of bishops was necessary for the Church, but that the king's vicar-general had too much to do, and could not be present every where!

We find Cranmer gladly co-operating with Cromwell in procuring the dissolution of the monasteries. The letter has been preserved in which the archbishop urges the king to suppress these retreats and asylums of holiness and virtue, as being inconsistent with a true and full reformation of the Church of England, according to the *gospel pattern*. Henry, who was of an avaricious disposition, was not backward in complying with the suggestion of his faithful servants; and a commission was issued, and the destruction of the venerable abbeys and monasteries

began. This, however, is a matter on which I need not here enlarge; and I only mention it in this place, that so atrocious an act of injustice and robbery may not be altogether lost sight of in our estimate of Cranmer's character.

There is another and a general point of view, from which we must regard Cranmer's ecclesiastical conduct if we would form a true judgment of him, viz. its duplicity and hypocrisy. It must be remembered that Henry, in separating England from Catholic unity, had no desire to change Catholic doctrine. He cast off the Pope's authority, and substituted his own; but he was far from desiring to Lutheranise or Calvinise England: on the contrary, he was zealous, after his despotic fashion, for the great bulk of Catholic truths. Now Cranmer's sympathies were all with the German Reformers. He desired to remodel the Church of England more after the pattern of the foreign Protestant communities. How far his disbelief of Catholic truth extended at this time, it is, of course, impossible to say, as he dared not avow it. We know that he considered the consecration of bishops as a matter only of "seemly fashion and good order," and in no wise necessary (this opinion, however, as he declares, being held in due submission to the king's better judgment). It is hardly to be imagined that, if he had such a low notion of the priestly office, and accounted bishops as mere civil officers for the transaction of spiritual affairs, he could have been sound in his belief concerning the Sacraments which they administered; and since he took the first opportunity which he safely could of declaring his thorough Protestantism on these and kindred points, it is at least fair to conclude that he had to teach and uphold much which he inwardly disbelieved. Nay, more; this vile hypocrite sent men and women to the stake for opinions he himself must have shared; for during the whole of Henry's reign, while to deny the royal supremacy or assert the Pope's authority was punished as treason, to impugn the Real Presence, and many other Catholic verities, subjected a man to the *charge of heresy*, and its penalty, burning. Cranmer, *then, burnt Protestants* with as little scruple as he perse*cuted Catholics*, according to the caprice of the kin

compliance with which seems, indeed, to have been the one only object of his life.

But at length, in January 1547, the king died, detested by his subjects, and unreconciled to Almighty God; and Cranmer, as being the man most after his own heart, was left one of the executors of his will, and one of the Council of Regency. Considering that his spiritual authority had expired with the late king, he petitioned Edward, a little boy of nine years old, to restore him to his former jurisdiction; and accepted a new commission until such commission should be revoked by his sovereign. Cranmer next officiated at his coronation; and though from the first he taught him to hate the Catholic religion, yet he administered to the poor boy the usual oaths to uphold the Catholic faith, as well as to preserve the liberties of the realm. He took care, however, to tell him in a short address that all the promises which he had made could not affect his right, which he derived from God; but they would serve to remind him of his duties; among which he enumerated the banishment of the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and the removal of images; all which was to make him a second Josias. The ceremony was concluded by High Mass, sung by the archbishop, who was meditating its abolition, as soon as it could be safely effected.

The Reformation now went on apace. In the previous reign the kingdom had been severed from the Holy See, and the Church of Christ displaced for a mere national establishment; and in the present reign we find the formularies altered, Holy Sacraments abolished, and religious ceremonies mutilated, and the Church itself thoroughly Protestantised and filled with heresy. This threw a great part of the kingdom into rebellion. In Norfolk and Devonshire especially a stout resistance was offered to the progress of Protestantism; and it was found necessary to bring in German troops, by whose aid the use of the new Prayer-book was enforced. The first edition of this book of Common Prayer was put forth in January 1549, and was publicly declared to have been drawn up by the special aid of the Holy Ghost; yet in two years' time it was superseded by another, of which the very same thing was said; a

though much of the dogmatic portions of the first were altered, and many of its ceremonies changed. Certainly Protestants must have a strange notion of Almighty God; as if He, who is Truth itself, can be the author of contradiction!

The political history of Edward's reign I must pass over, because my object is simply to collect and place before you facts which throw light upon the character of Cranmer. The burning of heretics, that is, of Protestant Dissenters, continued under Cranmer's auspices. Anabaptists and Unitarians, and other Dissenters from the established worship, suffered in the flames. Protestants, who declaim about the Smithfield fires, easily forget that Cranmer and his fellow-Protestants were as busy as any at this sort of work; and they need to be reminded that, so far from shrinking from it, it was their great "saint and martyr" who overcame Edward's reluctance to condemn Jane Bocher to be burnt. It is quite a mistake, however, to suppose that the young king recoiled from the inhumanity of inflicting so cruel a punishment. Such an idea never occurred to him, or to any of the early Reformers. It was simply solicitude for her soul, as she had not recanted her errors. Cranmer reminded him that Moses caused blasphemers to be stoned; and the king with tears at last signed the warrant. Jane Bocher suffered for denying the Incarnation; and the words she addressed to Cranmer are remarkable, as containing a true anticipation of the real tendencies of all Protestantism. "It was not long ago that you burned Anne Askew for a piece of bread (Cranmer had handed her over to that punishment in the late reign for her denial of Transubstantiation), and yet came yourselves soon afterwards to believe and profess the same doctrine for which you burned her; and now, forsooth, you will needs burn me for a piece of flesh, and in the end will come to believe this also, when you have read the Scriptures and understand them."

Cranmer was very desirous to be able to burn Catholics also. *As yet they* could only be punished as traitors, their *faith not having* been pronounced heretical by any acknowledged authority. To remedy this deficiency, in the re

code of ecclesiastical discipline which he compiled for the government of the Reformed Church, Cranmer took care to pronounce belief in Transubstantiation, the admitting of the Papal Supremacy, and the denial of Justification by Faith only, to be heretical, and therefore subject to the recognised penalty of heresy—the flames. Edward died, however, before this code had received his sanction. If it cannot be said that Cranmer delighted in shedding blood, neither can it be maintained that he shrunk from it; and though of a cowardly and sneaking disposition, he possessed none of that tenderness which would have made a man of his calling gladly avail himself of any pretext to avoid being mixed up with criminal prosecutions. His name, for instance, as one of the Council of Regency, appears among those who signed the death-warrant of Seymour; though the canon law forbids ecclesiastics all participation in judgments of blood. It is a curious fact (and perhaps a singular instance among archbishops) that Cranmer, in a fit of anger, challenged Northumberland, who had spoken contemptuously of the new service, to meet him in a duel. It may be fairly doubted whether he would have had the courage to fight it.

I must remind you that the succession to the throne had been settled by Henry's will, and confirmed by Act of Parliament, first on Edward, his legitimate child by Jane Seymour, then on Mary, the daughter of his first wife, Catherine of Arragon, and lastly on Elizabeth, his illegitimate child by Anne Boleyn. The Duke of Northumberland had married his son, Lord Guildford Dudley, to Lady Jane Grey, the grand-daughter of Mary, sister of Henry VIII.; and who, after Henry's children, and Mary Queen of Scots, was next heir to the English crown; and when the young King Edward was on his deathbed, Northumberland over-persuaded him to make a will bequeathing the crown to the Lady Jane, to the exclusion of his own two *sisters, and* his cousin, Mary of Scotland. In this act of *injustice* Cranmer took part, his name appearing amongst *those who* countersigned the young king's will; he pleaded *afterwards, in* extenuation of his fault, that he signed last! *The conspirators* had taken their measures, and Jane wa

proclaimed queen four days after Edward's death. But Mary's friends were not idle, and the country was in her favour; for Northumberland's ambition was hated, and the people were sick of the miseries of the last seven years, and of the Protestant religion, which had been forced upon them. As Mary entered London, followed by the people who had flocked to her standard, her enemies fled before her.

Thus Cranmer and his associates were clearly guilty of treason, in setting up another claimant to the throne, in opposition to Mary, the rightful sovereign. He was, however, treated with much leniency by Mary. Though the author of her mother's divorce, and one of the last to abandon Northumberland's conspiracy, he was commanded only to confine himself to his palace at Lambeth. It was not until, enraged at hearing that the Catholic worship had been restored at Canterbury, he published a blasphemous attack on the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, declaring it to be the device and invention of the father of lies, that he was confined in the Tower with Latimer and Ridley, the latter of whom had publicly preached in favour of Lady Jane Grey; and the Privy Council, upon full inquiry, committed him, "not only for treason against the succession of the queen, but also for perseverance in disquieting the state." Cranmer and his companions were removed, after Wyat's rebellion, and at the time that severe measures were adopted against the Reformers, to Oxford, in which city they all suffered the extreme penalty of the law, being burnt at the stake.

I am not going to enter here on the general question of punishing heresy by death, nor on the circumstances of "the Smithfield Fires," of which a full account has been given elsewhere.* I will only observe, in this place, that the statutes for the punishment of heresy were at that time part of the common law of England; and that by these it was provided that obstinate offenders should suffer death by fire. These statutes had been altered, not repealed, by Henry; the only difference in his reign being that "heresy"

* *See No. 7 of this* series, *The Smithfield Fires*, and No. 63 *Religious Toleration.*

meant something indefinite, as it signified only the sin of thinking otherwise than the king happened to think at the moment. Heresy, then, was at this time punishable by the common law; and very many, as we have seen, had been burnt in the two previous reigns by Cranmer himself.

While his own process was pending, he beheld from the window of his cell his two friends, Ridley and Latimer, led to execution; and at this sight his courage failed him, and he let fall certain words, expressive of a desire to speak with the Pope's Legate. He saw death before his eyes, and he had not courage to face it. He therefore affected to return to the old religion. He condemned his past acts; and, in no less than seven successive instruments abjured the opinions he had taught, and again professed the faith he had laboured to destroy. He made his submission to the council; and when the language of it was not deemed sufficiently clear and definite, he made it over again in a more ample form. When the Bishops of London and Ely came to perform the ceremony of degradation, he appealed against the Pope to a general Council; but before they had left Oxford he sent them two other papers; in the first he accepted the Pope's supremacy, promised to live in quietness and obedience to the royal authority, and submitted his book on the Sacraments to the judgment of the Church. In the second paper he professed to believe on all points, and particularly respecting the Sacraments, as the Catholic Church did then believe and always had believed. His next recantation was contained in a paper which accompanied a letter to Cardinal Pole. In this fifth recantation he declared that he was not actuated by fear of death or any other similar motive; but that he simply desired to relieve his burdened conscience. In the letter to Cardinal Pole he begged a respite of a few days, that he might have leisure to give to the world a more convincing proof of his repentance, and remove the scandal of his life. This favour was readily granted; and Cranmer, comparing himself to St. Paul in the way in which he had persecuted the Church, and hoping to resemble him in his conversion and zeal for the truth, again for the sixth time declared that he was unworthy to live, but drew comfort for himself

from the mercy which was shown to the penitent thief. He took upon himself the whole blame of the divorce of Henry and Catherine, and asked pardon of the Pope for all his offences against the Apostolic See.

However, in spite of all his recantations, the council were determined not to spare his life. Ridley and Latimer were to have been pardoned on their recantation; but Cranmer had been the author of the schism and of the change of religion in Edward's reign, and such offences, they considered, required that he should suffer, for example's sake. A Spanish friar was sent to prepare him for death, and on the morning of his execution he wrote a seventh recantation, and giving one copy to the friar, he reserved another for his own use, to read, as the Spaniard had advised him, at the place of execution. But when the time came, and he saw that his doom was sealed, and that there was no longer any hope of pardon, instead of his recantation, he read another paper, which he had ready prepared and had taken with him, together with the copy of that which he had given to the friar. In this paper he recalled all his former recantations, and declared that, though he had written them with his own hand, yet they were "contrary to the truth which he thought in his heart, and were written *for fear of death, and to save his life,* if it might be." He then thrust his hand into the fire, that it might be first consumed, because (as he said) it had offended in signing these recantations. His sufferings were short; the flames soon rose high, and he expired almost immediately.

Such were the life and death of Thomas Cranmer, the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, and "the greatest instrument, under God, of the happy Reformation" in this country. Reader, what do you think of them?

I hope, for the sake of Protestant morality, that it is not necessary to be a Catholic in order to condemn the iniquity of his career. If a life of prolonged duplicity and hypocrisy in the most holy things, if perjury carried on to his last breath, if an unhesitating and systematic participation *in the vices of* an immoral and bloody tyrant, and this, *not once, nor twice,* but for a long succession of years,—

if these are not sufficient to stamp infamy on a man's memory, I know not what would be sufficient to do so. Yet Protestant historians have not scrupled to declare, that "he seems to have acted with a good conscience," and even to laud him as "a sincere Protestant"—words which I should have thought were used ironically, had I not known that the writers were Protestants themselves.

Others, however, without attempting to justify the several actions of his life, are content to lay great stress upon the circumstances of his death. They regard his recantation at the stake as a sure sign of a sincere repentance, as well as of earnestness in his belief. Most persons, however, I think, will see in his behaviour at his death only a melancholy proof of the way in which his old habits of dissimulation and hypocrisy clung to him to the very last. He took with him to the scene of his execution two papers, the one contradictory to the other. Thereby he considered himself doubly armed. If a pardon were announced, he might read the original paper; if not, by reading the altered copy he would disappoint the expectations of his adversaries, the Catholics, and die a martyr in the eyes of his Protestant brethren. We know how attached people commonly are to their own opinions, especially those which they have long supported and endeavoured to propagate. They cling to them from pride; and pride will stick to a man to the last. It is quite conceivable, therefore, that Cranmer, finding himself unable to save his life, should give himself the melancholy gratification of behaving at the stake as many criminals have been known to do at the gallows. I can regard him, then, but as an obstinate heretic, who stuck proudly to his own opinions, but truly believed in nothing. The wretched man had so sinned against grace, that he seems to have utterly lost that which is the last to be withdrawn,—the light of faith.

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DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES

IN ENGLAND

AT THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION.

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Dissolution of the Monasteries in England

AT THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION.

THERE is one feature in the events which marked the progress of the change of religion in this country in the sixteenth century which deserves special consideration; I mean, the dissolution of the monasteries, or communities of religious men or women, which were to be found in every part of the kingdom in old Catholic times. Even at the present day, there are scattered about in various places a number of magnificent ruins, showing how many and how splendid these establishments must have been before the hand of the spoiler had been laid upon them. Moreover, we see a number of institutions, of less extent indeed and less magnificence, but of the same general character, springing up among us in our own days; and the sight naturally suggests an inquiry as to the cause of their former destruction in our land. The answer to this inquiry is to be found in the history of the so-called Reformation; and it is important that you should know something of the real motives which led to so disastrous a result.

We have seen how the licentious king, after having given the rein to his passions, rebelled against the authority of the Holy See, which refused to sanction him in the indulgence of his unlawful appetites, and how the unprincipled Cranmer lent himself to every evil purpose of his royal master; and having himself broken his own vow of celibacy, and assisted the king in his adultery, gladly did all in his power to promote the rebellion against the Church and the introduction of new doctrines. One great obstacle in their way was the existence of numerous and powerful monasteries. In these were to be found men who could not easily be persuaded to

exchange the supremacy of the Pope for that of the King; men who would not forswear themselves, and deny the articles of their faith at the bidding of an apostate tyrant; who sat loose to the interests of the world they had renounced, and who valued their religion more than their lives; in a word, men who could dare to withstand the caprice, the ambition, and even the resentment of their sovereign, for the sake of obedience to the law of God. This, then, was one motive which caused the religious houses of England to be obnoxious to Henry and to Cranmer. Henry's whole heart was set on firmly establishing his spiritual supremacy; and these were the bodies from which he was sure to receive the most determined opposition. They must, therefore, be removed out of his way; they must be sacrificed to his ambition.

Another, and not less powerful motive, was to be found in the great wealth of some of these religious houses. The example of Germany had shown that the Church might be plundered with ease, and with (at least present) impunity; and the lesson was not lost upon Henry, who was "strongly disposed," says Bishop Godwin, "to promote any reformation which might turn a penny, and furnish his exchequer." Indeed Cromwell, his prime minister (as one might call him) in all ecclesiastical matters, had long since promised that, if only the king would assume the spiritual supremacy, the wealth of the Church should soon be placed at his disposal.

The motives which appear to have actuated Archbishop Cranmer were of another kind; although in the end he became possessed of three religious houses after the dissolution, yet his avowed object, and probably the only one of which he was conscious in assisting the king in this measure, was the propagation of the new religion. It must always be borne in mind that Cranmer had offended against the laws of the Church; that he had in his own person aided the king in his defiance of the authority of the Holy See. This alone might have been sufficient to induce him *to take part* in any further acts of aggression against the *Church; but his* heart was really set far more than the *king's upon the* establishment of a new religion, and none

w better than he that the monasteries were the firmest porters of the ancient faith. He therefore avows in his er to the king, that so long as they remained undis- bed, the work of the Reformation, or, in other words, severance of the Church of England from the Church holic, could not be proceeded with.

A third party interested in the dissolution of the monas- es were the nobles, with Cromwell, the king's vicar- eral. They anxiously looked for a considerable share the spoils, and therefore lent a very willing aid. Thus have the king and his vicar-general, the archbishop, l the lords of the council, all for various, but yet for most part personal reasons, bent upon the overthrow the religious houses.

With such a mighty torrent of opposing force set against m, how could they remain in undisturbed possession of ir rights? Yet they had so great a hold upon the hearts the people, that it was no easy matter to dispossess them. could not be done by fair means. Plain straightforward ling they could meet, without any fear for the result. But s would not suit the purposes of their enemies, who there- e adopted another line of action. Acting upon the prin- le of the old proverb, "Give a dog a bad name and hang n," their enemies determined upon calumniating these in- tutions, taking away their good character as far as possible, d representing that in many of them the rules of the order re not properly maintained, but that every sort of vice d wickedness prevailed; and it was suggested that they ould be visited and inspected, with a view to their re- mation. Another device also, by which it was sought to edispose the public mind in favour of any severe mea- res that might hereafter be taken against the monasteries, s to set a rumour in circulation that there was some pro- ect of a war with the Emperor of Germany, whose large et was then conveying the wealth of the Indies to his ropean dominions. It was said, that if the king wished extend English commerce proportionately to the oppor- nities that had lately been opened by the discovery of *nerica, he must* fortify his existing ports, and make new *s. This could* not be done without the expenditure of

considerable sum of money; a charge too great for the revenues of the crown, and for which he would not willingly burden his subjects with a heavy tax. Should it be found, therefore, that any of these monasteries were so deeply immersed in vice that reformation was impossible, and should it be determined that they ought rather to be suppressed, their confiscated revenues would be found most conveniently to supply the necessary funds; and lest any body should scruple about the propriety of devoting to so merely secular a purpose monies that had been solemnly set apart for the service of God, another project also was talked about, though, if we may judge from the result, without any serious intention of ever really carrying it into effect;—it was said that the king wished to increase the number of bishoprics, and that the revenues of the suppressed monasteries would provide an ample endowment for the new sees.

Thus, the destruction of these institutions being in fact determined upon, no means were spared to prepare the minds of the people for such a result; and various plausible pretexts were invented to divert their attention from the manifest injustice of the transaction. It was proposed that the king should appoint some one to visit the monasteries; but as if to render the mockery of such a visitation patent to all, Cromwell was the person chosen to be visitor, —a man who had not only professed his determination to carry out the king's wishes, but had actually himself been the first to suggest the idea.

The Commissioners of Inquiry whom Cromwell appointed as his deputies were clerical adventurers of very doubtful character, who had solicited the appointment, pledging themselves to effect as far as possible the extinction of the establishments which they should visit. The instructions which they received breathed a spirit of religious zeal and piety, being formed upon the model of those formerly used in episcopal visitations, so that it might appear to those who were not behind the scenes that the object of the king *was the support* and improvement, rather than the destruction, *of the monastic* institutions. Nevertheless, it was not *difficult to discover* that, in spite of this hypocritical pre-

tence, there was in truth a foregone conclusion against them, and that the religious houses were likely to fare but ill.

At first every effort was made, both by bribes and by intimidation, to extort from the authorities at the head of each monastery a voluntary surrender of their property to the king; but when these failed, all kinds of scandalous stories were invented and circulated, so as to form some sort of ground for their suppression. At their return, the commissioners gave in a most tragical account of the immorality which they had discovered. The heaviest imputations were cast upon the monks; the most disgusting crimes charged against them upon the slightest possible foundation, and without any proof being adduced to substantiate the charges thus rashly brought: an idle tale here or there was eagerly caught up and magnified; or, where nothing of this kind could be found, insinuations of evil were freely indulged in, so that all might be supposed to be involved in one common guilt, and so be included in one common sentence of condemnation.

Yet, strange to say, in the preamble of the statute which was drawn up in obedience to the report of this commission, for the dissolution of the lesser abbeys, while it was stated that in them there was much ungodliness of living, and that redress was required for the good of religion, it was also distinctly acknowledged, that in the larger monasteries "religion was right well kept;" and therefore it was proposed that these smaller houses should be suppressed, but that such of their inmates as desired it should be allowed to go into the larger houses. This admission is very remarkable, and of great value in enabling all impartial persons to judge of the true character of the proposed measure; for if it were true, as was stated in justification of the intended suppression of the smaller religious houses, that they had become sadly corrupt in morals, it cannot for a moment be supposed by any rational person that religion should have been right well kept in the larger houses;—it is incredible, I say, or at least it is contrary to all experience, that virtue should have been found to flourish most where temptations to vice were *more* numerous, and the means of indulgence *more plentiful*. We cannot help suspecting, therefore, the

either one part of their statement or the other was false; and we can have no difficulty in choosing between them, since they would only have been too happy to report ill of *all* religious houses if they could, and it was absolutely necessary that they should report ill of *some*, or they could not have justified the destructive measure they were proposing. We conclude, then, that their accusations against the smaller religious houses, resting as they do only on their own assertions, without any proof, were merely invented as a cloak for the unjust robbery which they were about to commit. In fact, the report of the commissioners was clearly drawn up according to considerations of convenience, and with a view to the object which they were bent on attaining, not at all with reference to the true state of facts. And it must be allowed that the distinction which they drew between the smaller and larger monasteries was a master-stroke of policy on their part. For the heads of the larger abbeys and monasteries had places in parliament, —they were present to defend themselves and their communities from the charges brought against them; whereas the superiors of the smaller houses were at a distance, were unacquainted with the accusations which were made, and unable therefore to repel them and expose their falsehood. Had the commissioners included all the monasteries, both large and small, in their condemnation, they would have overreached themselves: but they showed their worldly wisdom in the line which they adopted; for not only were they attacking, as we have said, men who had no opportunity of defending themselves, but they were also lulling the suspicions of the abbots and priors of the more powerful houses, who might hope perhaps to escape spoliation by abstaining from a too strenuous opposition to the known will of the court. In this, however, they were doomed to disappointment. The dissolution of the smaller houses only prepared the way, and made the dissolution of the larger ones more easy; for, of course, whether the property was large or small, the principle involved in its confiscation was always the same, while the booty received from the suppression of the smaller houses was only sufficient to whet the appetites of the plunderers, and make

them the more eager to get possession of the more valuable property which yet remained.

The same process, therefore, which had been so successful in effecting the overthrow of the smaller houses, was now repeated against the others. Large pensions were offered to those abbots and priors who would make what was called a *voluntary resignation* of their property; and but too many were persuaded to make this sacrilegious surrender of what was not really theirs, but which they held in trust for God and His poor. But where bribery failed, they knew how to employ menaces, and even to terrify some into submission by a few examples of extraordinary rigour. The monks of Charter-house, London, were committed to Newgate for what the commissioners were pleased to call their "traitorous behaviour," which was, in fact, neither more nor less than their refusal to surrender. Five of these monks died of the hardship of their usage, and five more with difficulty escaped the same fate. The Abbot of Glastonbury and two of his monks were treated in a still more inhuman manner. This abbot, of whom we are told by a Protestant* writer, that "he governed his monastery with great prudence and judgment; that his table, attendance, and officers, were an honour to the nation; that his apartment was a sort of well-disciplined court, where the sons of noblemen and gentlemen were sent for virtuous education, and returned thence excellently accomplished; that he had bred up nearly three hundred after this manner, besides others of a meaner rank, whom he fitted for the universities; and that every week, on Wednesdays and Fridays, all the poor of the neighbourhood were relieved by his particular charity,"—this good abbot, I say, "being unwilling to surrender his abbey to the king, or to lend an ear to any of the solicitations which were addressed to him, continued a firm opposer of the Reformation; whereupon he was soon after seized at his manor-house, upon the pretence of embezzling the plate belonging to the convent, and without much formal process as to law or equity, was drawn from Wells, where he had been condemned, to Glastonbury on a hurdle, *and hanged*, with two of his monks; being hurried

* Dugdale's Monasticon.

out of the world without the least regard to his age, and not so much as suffered to take leave of his convent." This account of his execution is taken from the Protestant writer already quoted; and, indeed, the letter is still extant of the commissioners themselves who seized him in his manor-house, from which it appears that the only ground of accusation so much as alleged against him was, that they found "in his study, secretly laid, a written book of arguments against the divorce of the king, as also divers pardons, copies of bulls, and the counterfeit life of St. Thomas à Becket;" and that they found "a fair chalice of gold, and divers other parcels of plate, which he had hid secretly" from the commissioners who had preceded them; in other words, he had remained a good Catholic, obedient to the Pope, devout to the Saints, and faithful to his God, and had endeavoured to protect the property of his Church from the robbery of the king's courtiers; and for these *crimes*, "being but a very weak man and sickly," he was first conveyed to the tower of his own monastery, and then hanged on the hill in its immediate neighbourhood called the Torr, after which his head was set on the abbey-gate, and his quarters sent to Wells, Bath, Ilchester, and Bridgewater. Certainly such an example as this was calculated to persuade many a timid abbot or prior *to make a voluntary surrender* of his property. If, however, any were still refractory, and yet it was not deemed expedient to put them to death, the obnoxious individual was forcibly deposed by the king, and some more manageable monk put in his place. In other instances the seals of the convents were taken away; and by this stratagem the inmates were deprived of all means of subsistence. They were no longer able to make leases, nor to sell their jewels; the means of paying their debts were denied to them, and they could not even procure the very necessaries of life. Thus the garrison was reduced at last, and starved into a surrender.

Having at length gained possession, an act of parliament was passed conveying all the religious houses, *colleges, hospitals* already dissolved, or to be dissolved hereafter, *to the king*, his heirs and successors for ever. And *in the preamble* it is stated, that sundry abbots, priors,

abbesses, &c. had *given* the king their manors, lands, &c. *of their own free and voluntary minds, goodwill, and assent, without constraint or compulsion.* Is it possible to conceive a greater falsehood than this? Property which had been wrung from the rightful owners by every wicked contrivance that could be conceived, they have the hardihood to call "freely given, without constraint and compulsion." Surely it must be in bitter mockery that Protestants call the Reformation blessed, and refer to it as a pious and godly act!

In order that the Houses of Parliament might be well disposed to the passing of the bill, promises were made to the nobility of large shares in the spoils. There was a prospect of free gifts, easy purchases, or advantageous exchanges. And this was part of Cromwell's plan; for he told the king that this parcelling out of the lands amongst a great many proprietors, was the only way to clench the business and make the settlement irrevocable. Thus a project, laid in falsehood and wrong, in calumny, covetousness and ambition, was pursued in injustice and cruelty, and ended in sacrilege and hypocrisy. And all this was necessary for the success of Cranmer's project of *reforming* the Church of England, for the establishment of another supremacy than that which Almighty God had provided in His Church: and persons are to be found, even at the present day, who justify and applaud such measures.

There are some who profess to give credit to the scandalous stories told by the commissioners concerning immoralities practised in the monasteries; yet, besides all that has been already said upon this subject, we may add, that wherever a cathedral church was newly founded, or remodelled, in a place where a monastery had been suppressed, we almost invariably find that several of the dismissed monks were promoted to honours and dignities in the new foundation. Thus on the dissolution of the monastery of Christchurch, Canterbury, for instance, Archbishop Cranmer himself admitted to the new collegiate church no less than thirty members of the dissolved priory; and others of *them were preferred* in other churches. "If lewdness and *immorality had* been scandalously practised in this house

observes a Protestant author, "Cranmer could not have suffered them to have been admitted into this college; hereupon," he continues, "let us lay aside all such reports concerning immoralities practised in the convents; and *let us build upon surer grounds, and more Christian principles, the reasons whereby we justify the dissolution of Popish monasteries in this nation.*" [But where are these surer grounds and more Christian principles to be found?] "Are the monks charged with covetousness?" asks this same Protestant writer.* "They did, indeed, abound in wealth [that is, some of them did]; but they neither enriched their families, nor consumed their wealth upon their lusts. All they had was spent either in alms and hospitality, or else in stately and magnificent buildings, of which the present fabric of the church (at Canterbury) is a fair monument; or else in decking and beautifying the church with the richest ornaments, wherein they abounded. Are they accused of idleness? Their life, indeed, was not much spent in bodily labours [in *some* orders it *was*]; but much of it in bodily exercises, in fastings, penances, devout meditations night and day, and in some other superstitious formalities"—remember it is a Protestant who is speaking—"wherein they placed too much merit, and which they mistook for godliness itself. Are they censured as illiterate? In those times there was but little learning in the world; but most of the learning that there was, was to be found in the cloisters of the monks, where some did attain to such a proficiency of knowledge, as in those times was to be esteemed high and great. Are they condemned as guilty of intemperance and luxury? They had their daily allowance of food and wine in their common refectory; but I do not conceive that this daily allowance did administer to excess, even upon their extraordinary festival commemorations." These questions and answers contain the candid confessions of a learned Protestant upon this matter; and I think I need scarcely add to what he has said. I will rather devote the little space that remains to some account *of the consequences* which followed from this dissolution of *the monasteries.* No less than 376 such establishments

* Apud Dugdale. Vol. I. p. 87.

fell, in obedience to the sacrilegious tyrant's command: a yearly revenue of 32,000*l.* was brought into his exchequer, besides goods and chattels to the value of 100,000*l.*

But, on the other hand, more than 10,000 persons were turned adrift into the world, without any adequate provision, ruined and undone. A piteous sight presented itself throughout the whole country. Monks and nuns wandering about asking for bread; they who had so continually ministered to the wants of the poor, now themselves in need of the commonest necessaries of life. And even this resource was afterwards denied to them; for in the subsequent reign Parliament made a statute against vagabonds, which was in reality levelled against the monks. Having deprived them of their property, and sent them adrift with miserable pensions, and often with none at all, Parliament now pursued them with rigour, and punished them unless they were willing to be tied to labour; thus treating men who had been bred to learning as though they belonged to the very lowest class of the people. And whilst the monks and nuns were thus cruelly reduced to beggary, the churches and monasteries which they had built were rifled, profaned, pulled down, or turned into dwelling-houses, barns, or pigeon-houses; the plate was swept off the altar; the holy furniture converted to common use; the choir undressed, in order to decorate the drawing-room and bed-chamber. "Surely there was no great air of devotion in this," says a Protestant historian; "nothing very primitive and apostolic." And yet it is said that these were the returning steps of the Church of England to the purity of primitive times.

Something had been rumoured in the beginning about a prospect of war, and the necessity of making provision for it; something had also been rumoured about the erection of new bishoprics. But out of the eighteen bishoprics which had been talked of, no more than six were established; and as for the war, it was, as we have already said, a mere pretence to deceive the people. The means which had been so fraudulently obtained, on the pretext of *providing* for the war, were no longer at the king's disposal; *for large* promises had been made beforehand to

nobles and to others, and these were kept. The property was not applied to public or pious uses. The abbeys were not turned into public schools and seminaries of learning, nor into hospitals, nor into asylums for the poor, but were made over to those who had favoured the king in his rebellion against the Church—to those who were ready to make a gain of godliness. They were often bestowed in acknowledgment of the most trivial services. Fuller tells us, for instance, that the king "granted a religious house to a gentlewoman, because she presented him with a dish of pudding which happened to please his palate." He even made Church property his stake at play, and thus played away many thousands a-year that had once belonged to the monasteries. To one nobleman no less than thirty monasteries were allotted; to another thirteen; and by these means the property was soon dissipated, past all recovery.

And how did these nobles use the property which they had thus sacrilegiously obtained? Again a Protestant historian shall be our authority, and one who certainly was no friend to the Catholic faith: "Who can call to mind without grief and indignation," says Southey, "how many magnificent edifices were overthrown in this undistinguishing havoc! Malmesbury, Battle, Waltham, Malvern, Tintern, Nievaulx, Fountains, Whalley, Kirkstall, and so many others; the noblest works of architecture, and the most venerable monuments of antiquity; *each the blessing of the surrounding country*, and collectively the glory of this land! Glastonbury, which was the most venerable of all, even less for its undoubted age than for the circumstances connected with its history, and which, in beauty and sublimity of structure, was equalled by few, surpassed by none, was converted by Somerset, after it had been stript and dilapidated, into a manufactory, where refugee weavers, chiefly French and Walloons, were set up in their trade. The persons into whose hands the abbey-lands had passed, *used their new property as ill as they had acquired it.* The tenants were compelled to surrender the writings, by which they held estates for two or three lives at an easy rent, payable chiefly in produce; the rents were trebled and quadrupled, and the fines raised in even more enormous propor-

tion; sometimes even twenty-fold. Nothing of the considerate superintendence which the monks had exercised, nothing of their liberal hospitality, was experienced from these 'step-lords,' as Latimer in his honest indignation denominated them. The same spirit which converted Glastonbury into a woollen manufactory, depopulated whole domains, for the purpose of converting them into sheep farms; the tenants being turned out to beg, or rob, or starve. To such an extent was their inhuman system carried, that a manifest decrease of population appeared." In fact, the whole face of the country was soon changed. It was overrun with pauperism. While the monasteries stood unmolested, there had been no necessity for acts of parliament for the relief of the poor, no assessment upon the parish for that purpose, no union workhouse, no poor-law guardians and relieving-officers, by whom, under the instruction of a Protestant legislature, poverty is treated as a crime. The rule of the abbeys was a Christian rule. They exercised hospitality towards the rich, and charity towards the poor; and when they were suppressed, it was acknowledged, even by the Reformers themselves, that there was a general decay of charity. They said that "in more than a hundred places where, in former times, twenty pounds a-year were regularly given to the poor, now not one meal of meat was given;" and the misery which was the necessary consequence of this may easily be imagined.

Such is a brief outline of the dissolution of the monasteries in England at the time of the so-called Reformation. Such were the motives which led to it, the manner in which it was effected, and some of its most immediate results; and from whatever point of view we contemplate it, we see the mark of evil set upon it in the most plain and unmistakeable manner. It had its origin in the worst passions of the human heart; it was carried out by a mixture of fraud and most cruel violence; and, without conferring any real benefit on any part of the nation, it produced ruin and misery for the poor. They, above all other classes of *society, have reason* to lament the day that saw the birth of *Protestantism* in this country. The loss of the true faith

of course the greatest of all misfortunes, and this was a loss which the Reformation entailed on *all* classes in this country, whether rich or poor; but besides this, the poor lost also that material assistance and those kind friends and comforters with which the devotion of Catholic charity had heretofore so abundantly provided them.

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NOT IDOLATRY.

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N.B. It is hardly necessary to remark, that the term *worship* is used throughout this tract in that general sense which it familiarly bears in the English tongue, and which most exactly corresponds with the Latin term *cultus*, employed by Catholic theologians.

Image-Worship not Idolatry.

The objections usually brought by Protestants against the Catholic use of images may be briefly stated as follows: 1. That it is expressly forbidden by the *second* commandment; 2. That as sanctioned by the Church, and especially as expounded by Catholic theologians, it cannot be separated in principle from idolatry; and 3. That whatever be the formal doctrine of the Church herself, or the intention of her theologians, such use, as exemplified in popular devotion, *is* in fact idolatry.

1. First, then, as to the Catholic use of images being forbidden by the *second* commandment—the simple truth is, that what Protestants have ruled to be the second commandment is in reality part of the first. Protestants have divided the first commandment into two, and thrown the ninth and tenth into one, without any other warrant or authority but that of their own private judgment. Up to the time of what is called the Reformation, all Christendom recognised that division of the ten commandments which is sanctioned by the Catholic Church; and Holy Scripture, to which Protestants profess to appeal as their only rule of faith, is altogether silent on the subject. The Bible, in the original tongue, makes no separation between one commandment and another,—the very division into verses is but an arbitrary arrangement; on the Protestant, therefore, lies the burden of showing why *his* division, which is an innovation upon the tradition of the Church, is to be taken as the true one.

But, moreover, reason and common sense are opposed to this division. According to the Catholic and ancient mode of separating the commandments, the inward desire and

the outward act are distinguished, both in the case of stealing and coveting another man's goods, and in that of committing adultery and coveting another man's wife. The Protestant falls into the inconsistency of making the outward acts the subjects of *separate* commandments, and the inward desires the subjects of one and the same commandment,—thus confounding sins of simple injustice with sins of impurity. Will any man say that the desire of stealing another man's ox is a sin similar in kind to the desire of seducing his wife?

However, when convicted of this confusion, the Protestant attempts to retort upon the Catholic, by alleging that what according to the Protestant division is the first commandment forbids the worshipping any but the one true God, and the second forbids the worshipping Him in a peculiar way, viz. under a visible form. But this, when looked into, will be found to be a distinction without a difference. For observe, the worship of an image of God can be sinful only in one or other of two ways: either the worshipper believes his image to *be* God, and so worships, not God, but his image; or he degrades God to the level of his image by believing Him to be *like* it, and so worships, not God, but his own idea of God. These sins are in fact identical, and are therefore forbidden by one and the same commandment: "Thou shalt have none other Gods but Me." In proof of which it may be observed, that all the arguments used in Scripture against the worship of graven images may be classed under these two heads: either they proceed on the supposition that the worshipper believes his image to be God, and remind him that it can neither see nor hear, neither hath it breath in its nostrils; or they warn him against the sin of imagining the Invisible God to be like unto gold or silver, or the work of men's hands. (*e. g.* Acts xvii. 29.)

But why then, it may be asked, is the specific prohibition added, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven *image*, &c.?" Plainly for the reason God Himself assigned (*Deut. iv. 15*): "Ye saw no manner of similitude (or likeness) *in the day* in which the Lord spake unto you." God *had not revealed* Himself under any visible form; in making

such form or representation of Him, therefore, the Jews must necessarily have followed their own mean and earthly ideas. God had revealed His NAME, which is an image to the ear, as a visible form is to the eye; and the distinct homage and special worship paid to the Name of God is one of the most prominent facts of the Old Testament. But God not having yet become Incarnate, and thus taken upon Himself a visible form, any attempt to make an image or likeness of Him could only have been to represent the Essential *Divinity* which no man hath seen nor can see, and would, therefore, have given a gross and carnal idea of the Infinite and Incomprehensible Godhead.

Now the Catholic Church has ever condemned any attempt at representing the Nature of God, or worshipping It under a sensible form. The Second Council of Nicæa, which formally sanctioned the veneration of holy images, expressly declares again and again, "We never portray any image, form, or likeness of the Invisible Godhead." So again, the Council of Trent decrees, that where Scripture histories are represented by painting or sculpture, the people should be taught that the Divinity is not meant to be depicted therein, as though It could be seen with the bodily eyes or expressed in colours and figures. Such representations of God the Father as may be occasionally seen in Catholic paintings are purely allegorical; they express His attributes or the relations in which He has been pleased to reveal Himself to men, and are analogous to the modes in which He is displayed to us in parables; for instance, as a human father, a king, a householder, or the master of a vineyard, &c. Who ever heard of a Catholic paying his devotions before an image of God the Father as he would before his Crucifix? Indeed the Church has forbidden *separate* images of the First Person of the Blessed Trinity, that no one may imagine that any representation is intended of His Invisible and Divine Nature. The same remark of course applies to any human representation of the Holy Ghost: pictures of Him under the form of a dove are so clearly symbolical, and are moreover so plainly justified by Scripture, that they require no defence or explanation. It should also be observed that, as in the case

God the Father, Catholics do not adore the Holy Ghost under any visible form.

Nothing, therefore, can be more palpably false than the charge which is so commonly brought against Catholics, of breaking what Protestants call the second commandment. Catholics do not worship images as gods; neither do they represent nor worship the Nature of God as a visible and sensible thing.

2. But if they do not this, what is it that they do? They make images of Christ, His Blessed Mother, and His Saints, and pay them a kind of veneration or worship: they say (in the words of Pope Pius' creed) that "the images of Christ, of the Mother of God ever Virgin, and also of other Saints, ought to be had and retained, and that due honour and veneration are to be given them." Protestants, on the contrary, hold that no honour or veneration is due to them, and that any honour or veneration given to them is, and necessarily must be, idolatrous.

Such an objection is as unphilosophical as it is untrue. To be consistent, the objector must fall back upon the extravagant assertion of the old iconoclasts, or image-breakers, that it is wrong to make a sacred picture or image at all. Most Protestants, however, would not only reject so absurd a position, but even be ready to allow that sacred pictures are profitable, since they excite and keep up devotional feelings. But whether or not they may deem it desirable to use them for such purpose, it is still *a plain fact* that sacred pictures excite devotion; and if they excite it, they must likewise attract it. In other words, they become *objects of devotion*. A religious mind will use them religiously, and that religious use is in itself a certain veneration or worship in some way paid to them. The memorials of the Lord's Passion, and especially the Cross, the symbolical representations of His person and office,—are *devotional* objects. The sight of them must needs elicit acts of love and adoration, and these acts will be in some *manner* referred to the visible material objects calling them *forth*. Whether the Cross be honoured with the salutation *of the lips* or the bowing of the head, or adored on bended *knees with* incensings and lighting of lamps, the worship

irectly rendered to Christ will be indirectly paid to His mage.

In fact, then, the *religious use* of images necessarily involves the *veneration* of them. For what is meant by the eligious use of images? It seems to be threefold, as they ddress themselves to the memory, the intellect, and the ffections. Images speak to the intellect, when they intruct the ignorant, and act the part of books to the unearned; to the memory, when they help to recal the mind o heavenly things; and to the affections, when they excite o pious sentiments. But such uses are really inseparable rom their veneration, or they would not accomplish the bject proposed. For it is by being *representative* that hey lend themselves to these several uses. Now, that vhich represents affects us, more or less, as the object epresented; therefore, to treat it *as though it were* the bject itself, is only to carry out into action a sentiment lready entertained. Thus, the likeness of a deceased or bsent friend not only recals the memory of the features, nd, with the features, the virtues we loved in the person epresented, but it also excites the affections in the same nanner as if he were personally present. Accordingly, it s often treated as if it were what it only images forth, reeiving those testimonies of regard which are really inended for its prototype. Should we reckon a man foolish or extravagant for kissing the portrait of the parent whom he loved and revered while on earth? should we deem him mad, if he addressed some tender and affectionate expression to the inanimate image before him? There is no Protestant that will venture to say so. Let him but reflect, and he will see that he regards his friend's likeness with a certain affection, and pays to it a certain respect. How is it, then, that he cannot understand that Christians naturally regard with another and a higher kind of love, and pay another and a higher kind of respect, to that picture or that image which represents their heavenly Lord and Master—a respect and a love *corresponding* in the divine order to that which is given to the portrait of a friend or *a superior in the* merely human order?

Again, take the reverential treatment of the Bible

good Protestants, not of the words only, but of the book itself. Is not such reverence commonly paid? and is it not natural to a religious mind? Yet what is the true value of such an act? What account can a Protestant give of it? He will say that he honours the book on account of the words of God which it contains. But it contains really not the words of God, but the *images* of words; which words, again, as they reach the human ear, and as coming through human language, are but images of God's word. Anyhow, the book is treated with an honour similar in kind, though different in degree, to that with which God's word should be treated. It stops not short at the book, it passes on to God; in other words, it is relative divine honour. I do not mean that the Protestant does this consciously; what I wish to show is, that the moment we regard any thing as the proper representative of another, and admit it as such, its treatment, in a certain degree or manner, as if it were the object it represents, is necessarily and logically involved in that admission.

And popular feeling has ever witnessed to the truth of this. Why do men burn an obnoxious statesman in effigy, or riddle his portrait with bullets? What is the meaning of saluting the national flag? and why is a refusal to be construed into an indignity and an offence? We should hope there are many Protestants who would shrink from trampling on the Cross, like the Dutch traders in Japan, and many a school-boy who would feel it not altogether loyal to his sovereign lady Queen Victoria, to pelt her bust with stones, or bespatter it with mud. Yet why not, except that such acts have a value which human instinct recognises? The abbot Stephen convicted the persecuting emperor alike of false reasoning and of impiety in profaning the images of Christ and His Saints, by setting his foot upon a coin on which the imperial countenance was stamped. He proved that the honour or dishonour rendered to an image was referrible to the prototype; he proved it *to his cost,* for the tyrant cast him into prison, and put *him to a cruel* death.

The conclusion then is, that whenever an image is *used—that is,* the moment it passes out of the department

of mere art and ornament, and is considered as representative—it becomes the object of sentiments and treatment similar to those which the original excites and receives, and a medium of expressing the feelings which we entertain towards him.

As to the further question, what *kind* of honour and veneration is due to holy images, no dogmatic definition has been given by the Church. Particular divines, however, have treated the subject philosophically; but Protestants, who want the light of faith and are ignorant of the science of theology, look upon such disquisitions as subtle refinements and dangerous conceits. Indeed, they have gone further, and charged the Church with formal idolatry.

Yet what is it that the theologians in question really say and mean? Despite scholastic language, and the confusion which Protestant controversialists have raised about it, the matter in itself is simple enough, and capable of being comprehended by any ordinary understanding. I will try to state it in common terms. You possess the portrait of a beloved friend; you regard it with a certain affection; in some way or other you look upon it, and you treat it as representing the person whose portrait it is. It reminds you of him, and in imagination you make him present to you; and this calls forth certain feelings and affections, of which the inanimate portrait is itself in a manner the recipient or the object. Anyhow, in whatever way you may please to express it, the portrait bears a certain relation to your friend; and the feelings with which you regard him are somehow associated with the image of him. Well, a metaphysician will analyse these feelings, and will give you the value of this relation; he will measure the several acts of the mind, and sort and separate them into degrees and kinds; and all this he will do by a process and in terms which, if you are not of a metaphysical turn, you may not at once understand. And just so it is that the Catholic metaphysician, or theologian, proceeds in the matter of holy images. He analyses the devotional acts of *the mind, and notes down in theological terms the several values of them.* There is nothing more foolish or extrav

gant in the one case than in the other. It may be necessary in order to meet and expose the attacks of heresy. It is not that he invents a subtle science, and then sets men consciously to act it out; he simply expresses, in technical or scholastic terms, what the worshipper does naturally and unconsciously. But Protestants fancy that all these subtle distinctions—as they call them—are intended for popular teaching; and that people are told, as if they were going through some metaphysical exercise, what kind of mental act, or series of acts, or combination of acts, they are to make, first before an image of our Lord, then before an image of our Lady, and then before an image of some Saint. Whereas the truth is, that they who are devout to the persons thus represented will pay their images due honour; and this honour, when analysed, will prove to be what the greatest masters in theology have determined it to be. Religious honour is subject to the same metaphysical laws as non-religious honour, and is equally capable of being scientifically defined. It is honour *secundum quid* (as it is called), or it is a relative honour, or it is an inferior honour, in one case as in the other; the only difference being, that one belongs to the religious order, the other to the non-religious order. Such definition does not alter the nature of the act; it does not turn it into something more, or something else, than it was before being defined. It is a *theological* development, not a practical one; the result of a strictly analytical process in the minds of theologians, not of any extension, much less of any change, in the practice itself.

I cannot enter further into these questions. All that I would insist upon is, that, in some sense or other, honour, veneration, worship, or what is meant by the Latin word "cultus," is due and is naturally paid *to* a sacred image:—to the person represented through the image, but also to the image itself, as that person's representative. Yes, I repeat it, images are representative. They are for worship; *objects of* devotion, as well as helps and incentives thereto. *Their use is not* only to raise the mind to heaven, where *the Saint reigns* in glory, but to bring him down to earth, to *re-present* him, or render him as it were present on the

very spot where his image stands, that we may worship *him through it* and *it for him*. Thus "image-worship" is one of the many varied forms of Catholic devotion. It springs out of a vital realisation of the mystery of the Incarnation; it is one of the natural expressions in which the devout mind gives vent to its affections towards the Sacred Humanity of our Lord and those who are the most closely connected with Him.

3. As to the third and last objection, that in popular practice image-worship is idolatry, it may be dismissed in a few words. I have already incidentally replied to one very common misapprehension, and the rest are equally futile. Protestants dislike the forms in which this devotion exhibits itself in Catholic countries. They point to some Flemish or Italian peasant kneeling before a gaily-dressed Madonna, with spangled robe, and muslin veil, and tinsel crown; and they cry, "See there—Idolatry!" But why so, I ask? If the thing be right in principle, why should the practice be so abominable in your eyes? You dislike what you see, because you do not yourselves share the faith and devotion which prompt the act.

"But the whole thing is so vulgar, so childish: there is such an utter want of taste and refinement about it." Well, grant it;—what then? What has taste to say to devotion? Did it ever occur to you to think what it is that makes these people deck out their images at all, and spend so much care and trouble upon them? I will tell you. It is love; love of Jesus, love of Mary,—a child's love for his mother; pure, reverent, trustful. Is not this pleasing to Mary, think you, and to the Child she bore? That is my answer. These people love and honour the Virgin Mother of their God; they have a real personal affection for her, to which you are strangers; and therefore they bedeck and bedizen her image in the gayest manner they are able.

And do you imagine that these people are so stupid that they really believe the image to be Mary? or mistake her for her Son? or worship her Son's image instead of Himself?

"*But they* are so ignorant," you say. How do you *know that?* Did you ever question them about their be

lief? or take pains to understand their answers if you did? I will tell you what they know; and knowing this, they cannot be idolaters. They know God; they know Jesus, the Eternal Son of God; and when God is rightly adored, and His true Nature comprehended, idolatry is impossible. In short, the safeguard against idolatry is the knowledge and the love of the true God. When men forgot God of old, forgot what He was and who He was, forgot His law, His will, His attributes, they turned to idols. The making and worshipping of idols was the result, the last expression, of this departure. But what parallel is there between this and the "image-worship" of the Church—she who so diligently teaches her children the knowledge of the Supreme God, as He has revealed Himself in His Unity of Essence and Trinity of Persons? Open any Catholic Catechism, and you will see what pains are taken by the Church to lay deep this solid foundation, on which error cannot stand. But of this you know nothing. You judge others by yourselves. You know nothing of the care that is taken by Catholics to instruct the youthful mind in the mysteries of the Blessed Trinity, the Eternal Generation of the Son and Procession of the Holy Ghost, the Incarnation, and the Person of the God-Man. Protestants in general shrink from these subjects; they do but yield at most a cold belief to doctrines so high and holy, and avert their eyes from the contemplation of them; they are little sensitive to the most frightful heresies, they treat them as mere speculative differences, and then they turn to us and charge us with idolatry! Surely it might move us to scorn and indignation, did it not move us rather to compassion; but let them know that our safeguard against idolatry, as against every other error, is not a pitiful fear of extremes, a shrinking dread of allowing free scope to our affections and the natural homage which the heart pays to all it loves and honours; our safeguard is this,—that we worship one God in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity, and one *Lord* Jesus Christ, who is God over all, blessed for ever. *He who loves God* cannot be joined unto idols.

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N.B. The contents of this, as of the former Tract, are taken in the main from articles contributed by the writer to the *Rambler*, May and June 1850, to which the reader is referred.

Image-Worship not opposed to Primitive Practice.

BESIDES the more ordinary and popular objections which Protestants urge against the Catholic use of images, and which have been answered in a former tract, there is one of a somewhat more learned character, on which I am anxious to say a few words, lest my silence should be misconstrued into an acknowledgment of its truth. It is said that the veneration of images is opposed to primitive practice; that it receives no sanction from the language of ancient authors; and is one of those corruptions of pure Christianity which crept gradually into the Church, and not without considerable opposition from a large portion of the faithful.

1. Now, first, as to the language of ancient authors, the arguments which are employed by the Fathers of the Church, and which are supposed to impugn the Catholic use of images, are in reality directed against heathenish notions and practices; those very notions and practices which, as I showed in my former tract, the Catholic Church has ever condemned and prohibited. Protestants first misrepresent the doctrines and practices of Catholics, and identify them with those of the heathen nations, and then (as it is easy enough) turn against Catholics the language which the Fathers employed in controversy with heathens. For instance, in the face of an express statement to the contrary by the Council of Trent,—a statement which every Catholic is bound to hold and maintain as he would save his soul,—they pretend that we "invest an image with some kind of divinity," as though the image were the habitation of the Deity who invisibly dwelt therein; and when the *ancient* Fathers assail this superstitious belief, they *quote their* language and their arguments against the *Catholic Church*. And so, likewise, the prohibitions which

were issued, whether by individual bishops or by particular councils, against representations of the Nature of God, are taken to condemn such allegorical pictures as I have before alluded to, or the Catholic use of the crucifix and other images of Christ—the God made man.

That ancient authors should use language in disputing with heathens which they would not have used had they lived in the present day, is no more than was to be expected. They were engaged in overthrowing false and unworthy ideas of God and His worship, and did so by arguments which could be turned against themselves only by proving that their own ideas were *similarly* false and unworthy. Whether they "worshipped" images or not, their arguments were in any wise valid against heathenism; but no doubt they would have guarded their language from misapprehension, had they lived in times when the whole subject of the honour due to holy images was under discussion, or if Catholic devotion had taken precisely the same form in their day as at present.

2. I readily allow then, that we find no allusion in the very early fathers to any such veneration of images as the Second Council of Nicæa enjoins; on the contrary, they use language which at first sight seems inconsistent with it; and from their way of arguing against the Gentiles, it is natural to infer that no such practice was recognised amongst them as that of bowing the head to images, prostration before them, or the offering of incense or lighting of candles, all which practices were subsequently adopted alike by the Church of the East and of the West. So far, then, from contending that the veneration paid to holy images was externally, or *explicitly*, in the previous centuries what it had become in the eighth, I maintain that it was a matter of slow and progressive introduction; that, at first partial in form and local in extent, it gradually made way, and assumed a distinct expression as circumstances called it forth or permitted its display. *Implicitly*, however, this veneration was ever the same. The devotion with which *the poor* persecuted Christian in the catacombs kissed *the symbols* of his Master's Passion, or bowed his head to

presented in some rude sculpture as the

Good Pastor of the flock, or in His own adorable Person as giving the keys of His kingdom to St. Peter, was substantially the same with the incensing, the lighting of lamps, the genuflexions and prostrations, with which, when Pagan persecution had died away, the faithful delighted to honour His picture or His image in the streets and in the churches. It wore a less determined form in men's minds, and was associated with simpler rites, and performed perhaps in a more unconscious manner; but in itself it was the same act of worship which was enjoined by the second Council of Nicæa and confirmed by succeeding councils of the Church, and which has found for centuries a thousand eloquent expressions in the natural piety of the faithful.

Still, it is true that occasional instances of the practice may be met with in primitive times which more or less resemble its later forms; and the early fathers often use expressions and adopt a mode of reasoning which indicate indirectly in what light they would have regarded the matter had the question been discussed in their day.

However, there are plain and intelligible reasons against an early introduction of what is popularly called "image-worship," and some of these I will proceed to mention.

Thrown as the Church of Christ was into the midst of a world filled with the grossest superstition and idolatry, her first work necessarily was to unsensualise, or at least to *unhumanise*, the idea of God which every where prevailed; to teach mankind that He was a pure and ineffable Spirit, without body, parts, or passions, invisible and incomprehensible. The Unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of Persons, and the reality of the Incarnation:—all these great mysteries were to be constantly presented before men's minds, and deeply impressed upon them, before it were safe to allow visible and material representations of Him who is the sole object of divine adoration, except in the way of parable, type, or symbol. The unspiritualised mind, habituated to all the sensual imagery of Pagan worship, could not have profited by such representations, even as instruments for imparting instruction or moving the *affections*. Rather harm might have ensued. Accustomed *to regard* their idols as gods or demigods, or at least as

some way inhabited by divinity, there might have been danger lest, in their ignorance, not only the heathen without, but the very catechumens of the Church, should regard the images of Christ and of the Saints with an absolute and idolatrous worship. Or if their minds were speedily disabused of these gross material notions, yet there might have been reason to fear that they would look upon such representations as exhibiting the very nature and essence of God, and as embodying His divine attributes. Instead of symbolising the invisible God, or representing Him as incarnate, such images would have been taken to be the very *resemblance* of Him; instead of representing the true and very God made man, they would but have expressed their own false ideas of God; in other words, they would, to their unenlightened or half-enlightened minds, have represented false gods; and this would have been idolatry. In short, until the inward idea or *image* were formed in the mind, until they had embraced the belief in the true God, and learnt intellectually to conceive and in words to express it, it was not safe, as indeed it was not possible, to set up before the eyes of men visible images of Him whom they were to worship. They would but have transferred their own ideas to the image; and instead of representing the truth they were being taught, it would have stood in their minds for the old falsehood which they were beginning to unlearn.

Again, what scandal would such representations have caused the Jews, to whom the reverence paid to images would have looked like that idolatry to which they rightly attributed the calamities of their nation. Forbidden, as they were, not only to make and worship idols, or strange gods, but to make any form or similitude of God,—even an allegorical representation of Him, and, much more, an image of Him in wood and stone, would have been an abomination in their eyes, and a stumbling-block in the way of their conversion. They must first believe that *God had taken* flesh and appeared in "the likeness of *men," ere they* could endure to behold Him represented *in human form,* or regard with veneration an image of His *Person.*

It must also be remembered, that the Church of Christ was in the beginning a despised and calumniated minority, "a sect every where spoken against." She was the grain of mustard-seed, only commencing to take root, not the wide-spreading tree, under the shadow of whose branches the fowls of the air found their rest. The whole force of a proud and predominant public opinion was brought contemptuously to bear against her; and the sharp scrutinising eye of a carnal Pagan world, with all its inability to appreciate any thing spiritual, and its bitter hatred ready to distort and blaspheme her high and holy doctrines, was fixed upon her. The Church had been commanded by her Lord to have the wisdom of the serpent as well as the harmlessness of the dove, and not to cast her pearls before swine. She practised, therefore, what is called the "discipline of the secret," revealing her highest mysteries not even to her catechumens, but only to the faithful; and in her controversial works addressed to the heathen, dwelling simply on the most elementary and general truths. So long, then, as reasons existed for the maintenance of this precautionary discipline, so long as the uninitiated were imperfectly acquainted with the sublime spirituality and real tenets of the Christian religion, it is obvious—whatever other causes operated to postpone or restrain the use of holy images—that their open and unreserved veneration was from the nature of the case impracticable.

Neither was it the natural expression of the mind of the Church at the time. The course of devotion, as of thought, cannot be forced; or if forced, the result is an exaggerated or an abortive development. It is not natural for Christian devotion to do aught but follow or accompany in its acts and expressions the theological developments of the Church's creed. It would not be natural for Christians to set up images of our Lord and His Blessed Mother, until the doctrine of the hypostatic union of the two Natures in one Person was not only implicitly believed, as it was from the first, but explicitly taught and insisted upon in all its consequences.

All this explains why in succeeding times, and ever *since, even in* the midst of heretics to whom the "we

ship" of images is a scandal and an occasion of blasphemy and unbelief, no pains have been taken by the Church to hide her devotional practices. If Jews and Protestants are scandalised, it is (with whatever allowances for exceptional cases) through their own fault and culpable ignorance. Now *nothing* is concealed; all is made plain to those who will take the most ordinary trouble to understand what the Catholic religion really is. It also accounts for the Church's placing no restrictions (except such as individual discretion may suggest) on her missionaries amongst the heathen at the present day, as to the use of holy images and other like objects and incentives to devotion. As she goes to them with her whole developed creed, so, of necessity, she does not withhold from them her corresponding devotional system. Her life is the counterpart of her Lord on earth. She cannot in her full stature shrink back within the compass of the form which she wore in her infant state. Her creed and her devotions are parts of one living whole. They are the complement one of the other. The two are inseparable. The only danger would lie in detracting from the full proportions of either.

3. The history of Christian doctrine does indeed most marvellously illustrate this gradual development of Catholic devotion. No sooner has the Incarnation of the Son of God been accurately defined, and controversy on the subject silenced, than "image-worship" is found to have attained a definite form; and the next assault which heresy essays is on the material representation of the God made man, and, by a necessary consequence, on that of His Blessed Mother and His Saints. The Church was at peace on the subject, piously practising such devotions towards sacred images and symbols as tradition had handed down, when Leo,* the ungodly emperor of Constantinople, who was much attached to Jewish and Mahometan superstitions, and had an eye to the rich treasures of the Church, commenced a furious persecution against her. He was the original iconoclast, *i. e.* breaker *of images;* and his first act was directed against an ancient *and much-reverenced* image of our Lord, the face of which

* *See No. 28. How the Pope became a King.* III. *The People choose a Protector.*

s mutilated by one of his vile officials. The nature of e persecution which followed may be learned from the Acts" of the Nican Council.

"What tongue can worthily relate the dire tragedy? hence or how shall I follow out each sad detail? How all I enumerate the conturbations, the flights, the persetions, the imprisonment and beating of monks in the city, eir long captivity for many years, the chains which bound eir feet, the abstraction of the sacred vessels, the burning books, the profanation of holy temples, the impious nsformation of sacred monasteries into worldly houses resort?—so that the holy men who dwelt in them, seeg their goods now plundered, went away into barbarous untries, after the manner of the apostles, accounting it tter to live amongst the heathen than to endure the prone conversation of their own countrymen, acting in obeence to the precept of the divine apostle, 'That with such ey should not eat.'

"And what is most dreadful of all, is this impious pronation of holy monasteries, which impiety among certain kept up most lawlessly even to the present time, when, stead of sacred hymns and the voice of rejoicing in the bernacles of the just, is now heard only satanic and impis songs; and instead of the frequent genuflexion, nought it the licentious contortion of the dancer is now to be en.

"And with this profanation we must enumerate the ngers, the disturbances, the confusion, the cutting out tongues, the putting out of eyes, the slittings of the se, the disgraceful banishments, which befel these holy en, so that they have been scattered over the face of the rth. Again, the branding of their faces, the burning of eir beards, the lawless and compulsory unions of virgins ter they have been consecrated to Christ, and, worse than l the rest, the murder of certain."

Such has been the spirit of heresy in all times. But by gging the whole question that image-worship is idolatry, d that iconoclasm was therefore so far a form of pure *ristianity;* and by metamorphosing the furious tyrant

who then occupied the throne of the East into zealous reformers of the Church, and the monks and prelates who opposed them into rebels, as well against the righteous dominion of their earthly sovereign as against the incommunicable majesty of God Himself—it may be imagined with what ease the Protestant reverses the facts of history, and transforms one of the fiercest persecutions that ever raged against the supernatural truth of Christ into a vehement outbreak of jealousy for His honour.

But now, what was the real gist of the iconoclastic controversy? No one, I should say, can read, however cursorily, the history of the contest respecting images, without perceiving that what both parties considered the question at issue turned upon, was the reality of the Incarnation. The controversy was not, as Protestants say, about the honour and worship essentially due to God, but the honour and worship appropriately due to an *Incarnate* God, to Him who at the same time was both God and man. This, I repeat, was the question in dispute, at least at the origin of the contest: Seeing that Christ is God as well as man, is it pious to make an image of Him, as He is? and granting that it is so, may worship be rendered thereto? and again, if so, of what kind ought that worship to be? The anti-Catholic party in the East began by allowing, or rather by maintaining, that images might be used religiously, and, indeed, honoured as from a distance. They would admit images into churches, but they would have them "set up on high" out of the reach of the people, who were wont to kiss them and salute them with prostrations and genuflexions, so "bringing a scandal" as they avowed, "upon things otherwise worthy of honour." But the real design of these reformers was not long in showing itself; and from removing the holy Crucifix and the images of Christ and the Saints from their usual places, and prohibiting all honour to be shown them, they soon took to banishing them from the churches altogether, and treating them with ignominy and outrage. Impiety speedily reached its climax; *the hypocrisy* of antichrist needed no longer its cloak of *affected zeal.*

That good men from the first felt to be the real object
ack is evident from the noble words of Germanus, the
able Patriarch of Constantinople, to the Emperor Leo,
ich he declared that " he would willingly die for the
of His image, who, to restore the lost image of God in
had rendered up His life upon the cross." The whole
nent of the aged saint, as it has come down to us
ıe narratives of historians, is worth extracting, be-
it shows the ground that was at once taken by the
ders of images before the issue proved the real bear-
ınd importance of the contest, and is an evidence of
heological depth of the Catholic disputants, which is
illustriously in contrast with the shallowness and in-
stency of their adversaries. It must naturally occur
ıy mind to which the Incarnation is a reality, that
very fact of God becoming man must make *all* the
ence in the matter of representing Him in visible
ın form. Even had He but *appeared* as man, the very
lance of humanity which He wore would have seemed
ıstify the representing of it; but seeing that He had
ı human nature in its very substance, corporeal and
poreal, no objection in the very nature of things could
;ainst making pictures, and if pictures, then by analogy
es also, of Him. St. Germanus is reported to have
that " he was far indeed from worshipping images in
manner in which the Triune God alone ought to be
ed. But every kind of worship did not imply such
ation. In the Old Testament, worship was spoken of
mere outward sign of veneration. In this sense it
be rendered to man; and is actually given to the
erors, to their statues and edicts, and without ever
ging on those who render it the charge of idolatry.
he Invisible Essence of God, it was plain that no image
d be made; and the attempt, therefore, according to the
Testament, must be forbidden. But since God has
me manifest in human nature, and has taken it into
n with Himself, so ought we now, agreeably to our
ı in the true Humanity of the Son of God, to mak
es of the God-Man. The representation of Chr
ch images may be not less edifying than a ve

description * of the great mystery of the Incarnation. It is not the earthly material of which the image is made which receives the honour, but the Incarnate Deity which it represents. Neither to the Mother of God, however, nor to the Saints, in reference to their persons, ought any kind of adoration (*latria*, or *divine* worship) to be offered. This belongs to God alone; but to the Mother of God, as to her through whom the Most High became a partaker of humanity, to her who was thereby exalted in rank above all other creatures, proportionable honour and love are due."

St. John of Damascus expresses himself in similar terms: "Christians who have attained to maturity of faith possess the means of distinguishing between what can be represented and what is far exalted above the power of representation. Under the old covenant it was impossible that God, as an incorporeal Being and without form, should be represented by any image. But now that God has appeared in the flesh, and has conversed with men upon earth,

* This idea is thus expanded by the Lutheran Leibnitz: "Granting, then, that no other veneration of images is admitted but such as belongs to the prototype, there will be no more idolatry in it than in the veneration which is rendered to God and to Christ when His most holy Name is uttered. For names are also signs, and such indeed as are far inferior to images, inasmuch as they represent a thing much less perfectly. Therefore, when an image is said to be honoured, this is not to be understood in any other way than when it is said, that 'In the name of Jesus every knee should bow,' 'Blessed be the name of the Lord,' 'Glory be to His name;' and to worship before an external image is not more to be reprehended than to worship before an internal image, figured in our imagination; for the use of an external image is none other than to give a more distinct expression to the internal image."—*Syst. Theol.*

Blanco White, who from a Catholic became first a Socinian and then an Atheist, saw clearly that the use of images was involved in the belief of an incarnate God. His works have a most painful interest. He says: "A religion which presents an *incarnate* God as the supreme object of worship is essentially idolatrous. Idolatry does not consist in worshipping *material figures*, but in reducing the Deity to an object of the *imagination*. If God is made man, it signifies *little whether you* worship the *image within you*, or whether you represent *that image* in wood or stone, according to the Roman Catholic practice. *It is* childish to make the evil of idolatry consist in the *materiality of the* idol; that evil arises from the inevitable degradation *of the* Deity, when conceived as *a man*."—(Autobiography.)

I may represent Him according to His visible appearance." The Popes Gregory and Adrian hold precisely the same language; and in like manner all the arguments alleged by the Fathers of the Council start from the same idea—the essential difference between the old dispensation and the new, God having now manifested Himself to men.

This unanimity is very remarkable. Even the ground taken by the anti-Catholic party in the pretended Council of Constantinople was that of a supposed denial, by implication, of the mystery of the twofold nature of Christ; while in fact they themselves used the most unorthodox reasonings on the subject, involving no less than the denial that "Jesus Christ was come in the flesh." And by the way it may be observed, that the conclusions of the pretended Council go far beyond what its Protestant admirers would be willing to accept, inasmuch as it is opposed not only to the *using*, but to the *making* images or pictures of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints, and indeed to the representing them in any way whatever. It denounces the very art of the statuary and the painter as something illusory, presumptuous, and profane. But a much graver charge than that of fanaticism lies against this pseudo-Council, a charge in which Protestants are equally implicated, since they quote with approbation the following piece of reasoning, as heretical as it is shallow, by which the anti-Catholic party endeavoured to prove that their opponents were guilty of one of two heresies: Either they made Christ two Persons, and so were Nestorians; or they confounded the two Natures, and so were Eutychians. "Of which of the two Natures," they ask, "is the image of Christ the representation? Of the human nature, or of the human and divine conjoined? If it be the picture of the human nature only, then do the worshippers become practical Nestorians, inasmuch as they worship the Humanity apart from the Divinity. But do they, on the other hand, assert that the image of Christ is an image of His human and divine nature conjoined, then are they convicted of the error of Eutyches." Now this mode of reasoning is adopted, as I have said, by *Protestants in arguing* against the Catholic use of images. "*As Nestorius,*" say they, "imagined the human nat

apart from the divine, and so worshipped a created thing, so do Roman Catholics worship the picture of Christ's human nature, and therefore worship the picture of a created thing. As Eutyches imagined the divine and human nature to be one, so Roman Catholics, in like manner, look on an image of Christ as the image of His divine and human nature conjoined and confounded."

Protestants are always very angry when we tell them that they use infidel or heretical arguments, or that they do not really believe the mystery of the Incarnation, and do not worship our Lord with divine worship; yet, with scarcely an exception, we have only to let them talk on and reason out their speculations, to prove that our assertion is but too true. For what does the reasoning I have quoted really amount to? To nothing less than a denial of the great fact on which Christianity rests, or at least of the possibility of such fact being the subject of dogmatic statement or the object of practical belief. For observe: the very same difficulty proposed by the pseudo-Council might be alleged to prove that Christ had neither made Himself visible to human eyes, nor, if so visible, could be the object of divine worship. It might be asked: "Which of the two natures was visible? The human, or the human and divine conjoined? If the human nature only, then how can it be said that *Christ* was visible, since of His two natures one only was seen of men! If both the human and the divine, then this is to sensualise the Divinity, by making it perceptible to the material or natural vision, or to confound the two by making of them one composite whole visible to human sight." But such argument is plainly childish and absurd, as it would disprove the propriety or the possibility of representing, not only our Blessed Lord in His human nature, but any merely human being, seeing that the soul is immaterial and cannot be portrayed. Indeed, all the forms of common parlance, in which men speak of seeing and touching one another, would for the same reason be erroneous and senseless. But *in truth they* who argue thus do not realise the *Personality of Christ.* When the disciples saw Jesus Christ in the *flesh, they* saw God made man. Their eyes, indeed, be-

d but His human body; but as, in beholding that body, y beheld His Sacred Humanity, although His human l was invisible, so also did they behold, not indeed His inity, which no man hath seen nor can see, but *Him* › is perfect God and perfect Man in one indivisible son. An image of Christ, then, is the representation hat Sacred Humanity which, hypostatically united with Divinity, is eternally inseparable therefrom. And yet represent, not the Humanity only, as if it existed sepaly, nor the Divinity, which is immaterial and incomhensible, but the *Person* of Him who is both God and n.

As a matter of fact, therefore, what Protestants call the iodox party employed heretical reasonings in arguing inst the Catholic use of images,—reasonings which wed that they did not rightly believe the Incarnation he Son of God.

4. It has been further objected, however, that the stern Church protested against the decrees of the hers of Nicæa; and Protestants refer, in proof of this, the "Caroline Books," so called either because they e written by the Emperor Charlemagne, or compiled his orders, or merely transmitted to the Pope by him. se books could present no possible difficulty, but from fact of their seeming to have been in some way sanied by the Church of France. Judging from the inconencies with which they abound, as well as from the ble line of argument adopted—at one time as against angerous and excessive use of images, at another, as inst a direct and positive adoration of them—one would clude, either that they were the production of different ds, or that the writer did not well know what it was he to contend against. The greatest confusion of thought vails throughout. He seems to write at random, with a nge indefinite dread of something, he knows not what, ch it is necessary to meet and overthrow. He cannot er into the deep analogical reasoning of the Fathers of Council, and of the more ancient writers adduced by n *as authorities*; he does not see its bearing or feel its . *At times* he allows that a certain religious honor

is to be given to holy images, but seems ignorant of the ground on which that honour is due. The adoration of the Holy Cross he strenuously defends; he will have images erected as well within the church as without, but he will *oblige* no one to worship them. And then, again, he argues as if all worship must be *divine* worship, and that rendered merely and absolutely to the image itself. He makes the most frivolous objections. He argues as if an image were synonymous with *likeness;* as if it were not merely a *representation,* but a *resemblance* of the person to whom honour is due; and that the danger consisted in mistaking for an image of Christ or of the Blessed Virgin what in reality was not so. Thus, in one place, he says:—"Be it so, that the image of the Holy Mother of God is to be worshipped (*adoranda*), how are we to know which is her image, or by what marks it is to be distinguished from other images? .... How shall we know whether it may not be Sarah, ... or Rebecca, ... or Bethsabee, ... or Elizabeth; .... whether it might not be Venus, ... or Alcmena, ... or Andromache?" In short, it is very evident that he knew nothing of the philosophy or the theology of the matter on which he had undertaken to write.

And then, when we come to facts, we find more than sufficient reasons to account for this opposition on the part of the French Church, and the confusion with which the subject was involved. In the first place, a most unfaithful translation of the Acts of the Council had been inadvertently sent into France, by which it was made to appear that the same divine honour was to be rendered to images as to the Most Holy Trinity, whereas the passage thus perverted from its meaning asserted the very contrary,—viz. that supreme worship was to be given to the Most Holy Trinity alone. The Latin translation ran thus: "I receive and embrace with honour holy and venerable images, according to that worship of adoration which I offer to the Trinity;" whereas what the Fathers of the Council had really said was, "I receive and embrace with *honour holy* and venerable images, but the worship of *adoration I* reserve for the Trinity alone." Secondly, the *Latin word* "adorare," by which the original Greek term

d been rendered, was restricted in the West to the adora-
n due only to God; and this again confirmed the mis-
prehension which the defective version had naturally
ısed. And again, the author of the Caroline Books
ributes to the Nicene divines that which was actually
oken by their iconoclastic adversaries. Nay, we are told
the Protestant Dallæus, that in his preface the author
sitively confesses that he *had not read the "Nicene
uncil" itself, but only certain extracts*, which might be
pposed to treat of the principal matters contained there-
. From all this my readers may judge of the historical
controversial value of the "famous Caroline Books."

Now it was upon this false report of the Acts of Nicæa
at the Council of Frankfort, held A.D. 794, framed its
dgment. Of this there can be no doubt; the second
non of the Council is proof positive in itself; for therein
e ground of the condemnation is distinctly stated to be
e very words which in translation had been misrendered.

However, after making all due allowance for the Council
Frankfort having received an incorrect and imperfect
py of the Acts of the Council of Nicæa, the fact still
nains, that the practice of the Western Church with
ard to the veneration of holy images differed from that
the Eastern. But there were evident reasons for this.
therto, representations of Christ and of the Saints had
t been in use in France; for in many parts of the king-
m Pagan ideas and Pagan superstitions were still preva-
ıt amongst the people, and it had been a constant care
the Councils of the nation to exhort the clergy to labour
the extirpation of these relics of heathenism. It might
erefore be feared that the rude and half-pagan minds of
e people would not understand the external honour which
s paid to religious images, and might therefore easily
ıvert it into idolatry. Moreover, there was not in France
analogy for the veneration of images. In the Grecian
ıpire it had long been the custom to honour, not only
e emperor, but his statues also, with marks of great
ternal respect. The people were accustomed to honour
se images and statues by burning before them incense
wax-lights; and they therefore thought, and thoug
ectly, that the same demonstrations of reverence m

be exhibited to images of Christ and of the Saints. But it was far different in France, where these marks of respect might have borne another signification, and where the prostration sanctioned by the second Council of Nice might have been viewed as an act of adoration due only to the Almighty. The practice, therefore, was simply not understood; or if understood, it was considered dangerous to a rude and newly-converted people.

Nor in all that took place was there any intended opposition to a General Council (for the bishops of France regarded that of Nicæa as a merely eastern synod), nor to the authority of the Holy See. It is very important to observe that Pope Adrian, in sending a version of the Acts of Nicæa into France, did so, not as having confirmed the Council, or as enforcing its decisions and the practices their enjoined, but rather, it would appear, with a view of ascertaining the mind of the Gallican Church, and obtaining information as to the desirableness of making a dogmatic and authoritative decision. The course taken seems analogous to that which has been pursued by his present Holiness in the matter of defining the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. And as the Pope did not act with authority, so it is clear that neither the author of the Caroline Books, nor the Council of Frankfort (nor, indeed, that of Paris), opposed the head of the Church, or had any intention of doing so; on the contrary, they express the utmost devotion and submission to the Apostolic See. The Council of Paris, held A.D. 825, as it was assembled by the express permission of the Pope, so did it definitely declare that it was met, not to form any decision on the subject in dispute, but to submit its conclusions to the Sovereign Pontiff.

On the whole, it is plain, from a review of the facts, that while the Iconoclasts sought to overthrow established usages on heretical grounds and in violation of the Papal *injunctions*, the object of the Gallican protesters was only *to prevent their* introduction, through a misunderstanding *of the nature of* such devotions, or a fear of the consequences that might result from their adoption; and that, *neither in fact* nor in intention, did they either oppose or *reject any formal* decision of the Church.

The following passage from Father Newman's *Lectures Catholicism in England* so forcibly illustrates the argu-nt of the former Tract (No. 73, *Image-Worship not olatry*), that it has been thought it might be useful to pend it here:—

"A Protestant blames Catholics for showing honour to ages; yet he does it himself. And first, he sees no diffi-lty in an observance, in relation to them quite as repug-nt to his own ideas of what is rational as the practice he ominates; and that is, the offering insult and mockery to em. Where is the good sense of showing dishonour, if it stupid and brutish to show honour? Approbation and ticism, praise and blame, go together. I do not mean, course, that you dishonour what you honour; but that e two ideas of honour and dishonour so go together, that here you *can* apply (rightly or wrongly, but still) where is *possible* to apply the one, it is possible to apply the her. Tell me, then, what is meant by burning bishops, cardinals, or popes in *effigy?* has it no meaning? is it t plainly intended for an insult? Would any one who is burned in effigy feel it no insult? Well, then, how is not absurd to feel pain at being dishonoured in effigy, t absurd to feel pleasure at being honoured in effigy? ow is it childish to honour an image, if it is not childish dishonour it? This only can a Protestant say in defence the act which he allows and practises, that he is used to whereas to the other he is not used. Honour is a new ea,—it comes strange to him; and, wonderful to say, he es not see that he has admitted it in principle already, in lmitting dishonour; and after preaching against the Ca-olic, who crowns an image of the Madonna, he com-acently goes his way, and sets light to a straw effigy of uy Fawkes.

"But this is not all; Protestants actually set up images represent their heroes, and they show them honour ithout any misgiving. The very flower and cream of rotestantism used to glory in the statue of King William College Green, Dublin; and, though I cannot make an *ference in point*, I recollect well what a shriek they rais

some years ago when the figure was unhorsed. Some profane person one night blew the king right out of his saddle, and he was found by those who took interest in him, like Dagon, on the ground. You might have thought the poor senseless block had life, to see the way people took on about it, and how they spoke of his face, and his arms, and his legs; yet those same Protestants, I say, would at the same time be horrified, had I used 'he' and 'him' of a Crucifix, and would call me one of the monsters described in the Apocalypse, did I honour my living Lord as they their dead king."—*Lecture* v. pp. 171-173.

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JOHN JONES AND THE VICAR;

OR,

WHAT DOES MASS MEAN?

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1854.

1 [Price

John Jones and the Vicar;

OR,

WHAT DOES MASS MEAN?

[*John Jones meets the Vicar of the Parish.*]

Vicar. Ah, John! I missed you from your place at church last Sunday; how was that?

John. Well, sir, to say the truth, I thought I would go and take a look at the Catholics. My neighbour, Taylor, said he was willing to take me; so we went together.

Vicar. I am sorry to hear that, my friend. You should not put yourself in the way of temptation; it was what Eve did when she looked at the apple, and saw it was fair and enticing. Those people have the art of dressing up their churches, and bewildering plain folks with their music and incense, till they begin to think what is so grand must needs be true. But you know all is not gold that glitters; there's many a thing beautiful without being sound.

John. Well, sir, I can't say there was much in the Catholic chapel that looked grand and beautiful in outward seeming: in fact, there was a poorish look about the whole place. Your reverence's new drawing-room, as I helped to hang the damask curtains in, is grander by half. But what took me so much on Sunday, and what I haven't got over yet, was the devotion of the folks in chapel.

Vicar. Ah, there it is again. What! every one coming out at the top of his voice with chants all in Latin, that *neither* you nor they could understand a word of, I suppose. *Is that to be* called devotion? Or would St. Paul have *spoken of that as a* "reasonable service?"

John. No, sir; I didn't mean anything of that. There was hardly any singing at all, and what there was I didn't

much mind; but it was the still quiet prayer the people were in, that made me feel somehow it was like no other place of worship I ever found myself in before. Why, sir, they all seemed to be in earnest in what they were about: all down upon their knees the whole time, except at the sermon; even the children so hushed, and looking so stedfast, watching the altar, as if they really knew what was going on there. I made Taylor rather late, and Mass was begun when we came in; but though I took particular notice, I could not observe that a single person turned so much as an eye to see who we were, except that drunken fellow Terry O'Leary, whom your reverence threatened with the stocks last Quarter-Sessions; and yet it was not long before I saw Terry himself down on his knees beating his breast like a good one.

Vicar. Well, John, I'm the last to object to people being on their knees; and, indeed, I wish more would follow the good example you set in your parish church in that respect. But still, you see we are not to inquire so much what men's outward posture is, as what is going on in their hearts all the while. These people you saw knelt down because their priest bid them, just as an Indian might kneel down to the figure of Juggernaut, or any other idol; and while they were there they heard sounds, and that was all. The priest was muttering Latin, of which they understood not a word. They knew they were coming to Mass, and knew no more; and when Mass was finished, they got up and went away, none the wiser, none the better. Now, my good friend, compare this vain ceremony, that must just starve the souls of those poor people, with what you missed by not coming to church,—a plain, straightforward, sensible address, suited to the manliness of the English character, with every thing, from "when the wicked man" down to the last sentence in the sermon, made as plain to our understanding as the light of day.

John. Well, sir, I don't know about the church-service being as plain to my understanding as the light of day; *there's a deal in* it that we simple folk don't altogether *like in, somehow.* However, that's our fault, 'cause we're *ignorant; at* any rate, the service is in English, and I

Catholic service is in Latin; and I kept saying to myself all the time I was there, "How can these people get any good out of what they can't understand?" But when I looked round, on the sly, it seemed as if they *did* understand too; not the words, I dare say; but still, what was going on. That was my puzzle all along, and has been ever since, whenever I have thought it over. I don't mean as regards an understanding man like Taylor, and the rest who could read: for when I asked him, when 'twas all over, how he could go Sunday after Sunday, and other days too, to a foreign sort of worship like that, he showed me the Prayer-book he carried with him,—all plain straightforward English, sir, like my Common Prayer-book, or my missus's Olney Hymns, as for that; and there were such beautiful prayers for each part of the Mass, it did my heart good as I looked them over. First, a prayer to prepare oneself for Mass; then a prayer for the beginning, and a confession of sins, and a prayer at the Collect, and the Epistle, and the Gospel, and the Creed, and the Offertory, and so on. When I had looked it all through, I began to see how it was that all the time of Mass, James Taylor had seemed to be praying as hard as the priest himself. Just the same, too, as regards old Mrs. Brownson, and the French governess who comes down from the Hall, and—

Vicar (*rather impatiently*). Well, well; of course the Church of Rome cannot keep every body in ignorance in these days of printing and general information. She knows how to adapt herself, and take every one in his humour; give books to those who can read, and nothing but beads and trumpery pictures to the rest, whose souls are just as precious in the sight of God as those of educated people.

John. Well, your honour, I'm a plain man, and I hope no offence. But I must say, if you had been there, seeing the behaviour of the poorer sort of folks, and then recollected the behaviour of our folks at the parish church—

Vicar (*with a grain of anger*). What can you mean to say, John Jones?

John. Why, sir, if I must finish what I was going to say, it would be much as this:—In our church, you know,—set aside the squire, who gives such a good example, in read-

; it all after you out of his book (no, by the by, not the hanasian Creed), and also the clerk, whose business it —what have we got besides? There's Goody Wilson, who bbles through the service with her spectacles, and makes the folks round her laugh because she reads out the solution as loud as the Psalms. But as for the rest, ıy, sir, if you could get a bird's-eye view of them as I do ım the gallery—

Vicar (*still ruffled*). I know, I know; bad enough, bad ough. But what have you got to say of these fine tholics of yours, that you've taken such a sudden fancy ·?

John. There were a great many of them, sir, who had books at all; but they didn't seem to be idle for all ıt. There they were, all praying away,—not outwardly, u understand; but I only wish I said my own prayers as adily as I could see they were saying theirs. Some few ıispering the words: every now and then there was a ıd of little sigh, as if somebody was feeling so earnest he uld not help it, but was checking it as much as he could. ı, sir, it was as different from our Morning and Evening rvice, or Litany, or Communion, as one thing could be ım another.

Vicar (*rather solemnly*). When we pray, you know, are not to be like the Pharisees.

John. True, your reverence; that was just what I said myself when I saw those people; they looked to me so e the poor publican in the Gospel, with such a humble itude, heads bowed down, and their closed hands every w and then beating upon their breasts, just like the pub- an did, you know; not at all in a ranting kind of way, e the folks in Adullam Chapel, but as if each one was ınking over his own sins, and really sorry for them, with- t wanting to make a show and disturb his neighbours.— ell, I was going to tell you, sir; all this went on, each ɜming to follow his own devotions in his own way, but ry earnest about it, until all at once the priest (he had his ck to them the whole time) made a little stop, as if he s *preparing to do* something more than common. There

was a sort of move through the whole place. The old and feeble people, who had been sitting, prepared to kneel; though some of them could hardly kneel at all. Those who were counting their beads (I think they call it) stopped; those who had got prayer-books shut them up; every eye that wasn't fixed upon the ground was on the priest; though he did not take the least notice of them, and in fact could not see one of them. I almost seemed to feel my heart come into my mouth at such a dead, hushed silence. It made me think of a picture there was in school when I was a boy, of Moses kneeling down before the burning bush, hiding his face in his hands because "he was afraid to look upon God;" and yet it seemed to have more of love than of fear about it: a kind of loving awe, as I said to myself, when I gave a glance at the faces of those who were kneeling nearest to me. But I'm keeping your reverence with my long story.

Vicar. Go on, John. All this is new to me; and I want to hear what it is coming to.

John. Well, sir, it lasted a few seconds, and then I saw the priest go down on one knee; at the same moment a boy in a surplice, who was kneeling close behind him, gave a stroke with a clear shrill bell, and every one's head was bent lower than before. I could not help it, sir; my own head went down as low as the rest, and the kind of tears I have never shed since I was twelve years old came into my eyes, and *would* come, do what I might. I never had such a feeling before of what a sinner I was, and how unfit I should be to go to heaven, and all that. And yet there came a kind of sweetness that drew my heart, as if I almost heard those words whispered to me, that you, sir, read every month in the Communion Service—only they gave me quite a new feeling now—"Come unto Me, and will give you rest."

Vicar. Why, John, this is what I call rather childis I do not mean, of course, childish to have such feelin *in themselves*, but to connect them with what you w *then seeing* or hearing. For, you see, even by your o *account*, there was nothing but the dumb show of

st and the ringing of a bell. Nothing that could speak the understanding, or that people could take hold of, h for himself, as in our own venerated liturgy.

John. I don't know, sir; it all seemed to take uncmon hold of every one who was there, and of me too ichow; and what struck me so much (hit me so hard, I may say) was the way in which every one *did* seem to e hold of it, each for himself, and have his own share in Tlhere, you see, is what puzzles me; and I can't unstand it, any more than why I seemed to do it myself, ost like the rest, at the time; in spite of myself too.

Vicar (*getting a little bit impatient again*). Go on h your story, John. What happened while this bell ringing?

John. I can hardly tell you, sir, what went on at the n; because I was so full of what was going on in my a heart. But the bell was rung three times, close one n the other; three clear strokes, that sounded through silence. You might have heard a pin drop. The bell s rung again, three times, as before. And then there another little move among the congregation; people ed their heads again, but still remained kneeling, and t on with their prayers.

Vicar. So this is Mass, and all the good you get in ng?

John. When I asked Taylor, as we came away, to exin it all to me, he said the people knew by the motion the priest exactly what part of the Mass he had come to, t as well as if he had turned round to them and said, w, my good friends, I am going to read the Epistle; or, w I am going to say the Creed. I told him I had heard ir honour say it was all mummery, which quite put him , and he answered me again quick, How could a thing mummery, when those who knew any thing about it ew every outward part had an inward meaning and truth onging to it, and could join in it with heart and soul, ause they understood that inward meaning?

Vicar. Well, Master Jones, I see how all this is likely end. You are in great danger of becoming a Papist rself, my friend, unless you look out uncommon

sharp. This comes of listening to what those people have to say. They are all so plausible, and so well *up* in their belief, that it's enough to puzzle a plain man to hear them. I'll tell you what I'll do for you. I'm just going home, and will look out a convincing tract of the late Dr. Burley on this very subject of the Mass. Come to the vicarage in the evening, and we will go over it together. And now, in the meantime, get home to your dinner, and put all these vexing thoughts out of your mind. Good day to you, John. [*Vicar goes.*]

John (*shaking his head slowly*). Not till I've got to the bottom of them, I promise you. Put these thoughts out of my mind? they might put *me* out of my mind, unless I settled them. What, though I am a poor man, haven't I a soul to be saved? Haven't I a right to inquire, "What is truth?" I say, the Mass, whatever it is, is unlike any form of prayer I ever heard before; and I've heard a good many, both read out of book, and said extempore, out of the heart like. It stirs the soul, and melts it, and makes it better; not (to be sure) by any thing one hears,—for one hears precious little, and that little is all Latin; but by a kind of power of its own. Ah, here comes Father Smith, the priest, himself. I've a great mind to tell him what I'm thinking of.—Your servant, sir. May I be bold to ask you a question or two?

Priest. Certainly, my friend. Ask any thing you please.

John. I was at the Catholic chapel last Sunday morning, sir; and as I came away, I said to myself, Well, there's a great deal in all this that I cannot understand.

Priest (*smiling*). What, in my sermon?

John. No, the sermon was plain enough, and the acts of faith, hope, and charity, and the rest. But I mean about Mass.

Priest. Oh, the Mass. But did you expect to understand it?

John. Well, sir, I expected to make out something; *but I could make* out nothing.

Priest. Of the words, or of the action?

John. Well now, to be sure, that's just what my neigh-

bour Taylor said to me. "John," said he, "*I* do not follow the priest in the words he's using, though some who know more than I can do that too; but I follow him in the *act*, because I join my intention with his: I know what he is doing, I take my share in it, with my own words, or almost without any words at all; so it becomes my act, in a way, as well as his act." Now this, sir, is what I cannot see into. How can a man join in intention with what he cannot hear, and could not understand if he *did* hear?

Priest. Observe, now; we are here on this hill-side, with a broad valley before us, and another hill rising beyond it. You see a shepherd on that other hill. He is a long way off, quite out of hearing. But you see what he is doing plain enough. He is getting down to that rough bit of ground with the thorn-bushes, where a poor sheep has got itself entangled. We can watch every one of his actions as well as if we were ten yards off. Does it need any words to make us look on anxiously, and wish him success in recovering his sheep safe and sound? It would be just the same if, instead of being here, we were put down among the mountains of Wales or of France, where we could not understand the language of the country-people at all. We should be saying to ourselves in English, just what he was saying in Welsh or in French: "I hope with all my heart that sheep will not strangle himself before he can be come up with." And if both he and we were good sort of people, and remembered how valuable the sheep was to its owner, then you and I should be praying perhaps in *our* language, just what he was praying in *his*, that Providence would please to save the owner of that sheep from such a loss. Now, do you not see, this is joining our intentions with the shepherd's, and doing what he was doing at the same moment? And would not the merciful Father of all His children, who owns the north and the south, and the east and west, and reads the thoughts of all hearts, even when they never form themselves into words,—would He not regard us three as animated by one desire, and uniting in one prayer? And if there were ten thousand lookers-on instead of two, wh

difference would that make? Only the difference of a more general wish and prayer.

John. Yes, sir, I see that clear enough.

Priest. Then let me put it in a more solemn way. Suppose you and I had been the servants whom Abraham told to wait while he went up the mountain to sacrifice his son Isaac. If we had been gifted with the same faith as Abraham, we should have watched all he was doing on that mountain, and taken our part in it *by joining our intention* with that awful act of sacrifice. Abraham and Isaac would have been very far removed from us as to mere distance. But what would mere distance have been at that moment? There we should have seen every movement, every circumstance; the sacrificer, the victim, the fire, the wood; Isaac willingly offering himself, bound by his father, laid upon the altar of sacrifice, the knife lifted—

John. I see, sir; I see! You need not go on. Taylor told me the Mass was the great Christian Sacrifice; and the sacrifices of the old law, and the offering of Isaac, were shadows of it beforehand, pointing forward to the reality.

Priest. Taylor said truly. And see: St. Paul speaks of the old law as being "the letter," in contrast with the Gospel, which is "the spirit." Now, even under the old law, as I have shown you, a faithful Israelite might thus follow a solemn act of sacrifice, not by hearing the words that went with it, and still less by having any thing spoken to him by the priest; but by uniting his *intention* with the act which he knew God had appointed, and God would accept. The same is true of all the other sacrifices appointed by the law, as I need hardly stop to show you. The priest performed his part: whether there were many or few, *that* made no difference as regarded priest or sacrifice; though, of course, it made *all* the difference to each particular Israelite whether he came to assist at the sacrifice or stayed away. By the first he would be faithful and blest, by the second rebellious and excommunicated. *Meanwhile, the* people stood or knelt around, joining in *the act, uniting* their intention, praying silently each his *own prayer,* and resting his petition, or sin-offering, or *thanksgiving,* on the acceptableness of the sacrifice itself,

which was at that moment being offered for all. Now, before I go on, is there not something in all this very like Mass?

John (*slowly*). I must say, sir, it seems like it, so far as I can see.

Priest. If, then, under the law of Moses, which was but "the letter," God's faithful people could follow such a spiritual worship, we should still more expect a spiritual worship under the Gospel, which is "the spirit." Also, we should expect *sacrifice* to be the worship of the Gospel; because Malachias, the last of the prophets, foretelling Gospel times, and contrasting them with Jewish, declares on the part of Almighty God, that in every place—from the rising to the setting of the sun—there should be sacrifice and a clean oblation offered to His name among the Gentiles (Mal. i. 11). This, you see, must be a *real* sacrifice, because it was to come into the place of the sacrifices under the law. Therefore it means more than just a "sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," as your Prayer-book calls the Communion-Service; for that, though it may be called a sacrifice in one way, is not so in the highest or the most real way.

John. I do not understand, sir.

Priest. When you pray, or thank God, or perform any act of obedience to His law, you are (it is very true) making an offering to Him. But when an Israelite brought his bullock or his ram to the court of the temple, and gave him to the priest to be offered in sacrifice, he did more than this—I mean, he performed a more distinct act of sacrifice. For he not only *gave*, but *gave up*, *parted with*, and saw his animal actually slain, consumed, changed, in token of Almighty God's absolute dominion over all the creatures He has made. The thing sacrificed was not only *presented* to Him, as we present ourselves to Him when we pray; but it was really and truly *changed* by the act of sacrifice. And any thing short of this would have been no sacrifice in the real sense of the word. Do you see the difference?

John. Something, sir; but not quite. When we pray *and keep God's* commandments, don't we give up ourselves *to Him, and* give Him something to be changed and o

(as it is called) or submission of her subjects, you would see how many ceremonies and rules have been ordered, for every one to keep his place and pay his respects in the right manner. No one, of course, is to turn his back upon her majesty. When they are admitted to kiss her hand, one by one, they must bow low to do so; and other things of the same kind. If all *that* is right, and even necessary, when inferiors come into the presence of their sovereign, who is, after all, a mortal creature and a sinner like themselves; why then,—

John. Yes, sir, I see what you were going to say. No ceremonies *can* be too exact, when it is not for a creature but for—

Priest. My time is nearly come to an end; so I will interrupt you in turn, my good friend. Have you any thing more to ask me, before I finish my round of sick-calls?

John. Well, sir; I don't think I can quite get over it's being all in Latin, and the people not understanding.

Priest (*good-humouredly*). Why, that's going partly over the same ground again. Are you sure they do *not* understand?

John. What! the Latin words?

Priest. No; but the awful and most blessed *action*, which is transacted by words because words are necessary; but which speaks, not to the ears, but to the *hearts* of those who are present. Ask the most ignorant old Catholic woman in my congregation, or the most enlightened philosopher who has the gift of that precious faith, they would both have the same answer for you. "What is it to me," they would say, "whether I hear the sacrificial *words* or no? I come to be present at the *act* of sacrifice; I join my intentions to that great act; my poor prayers are borne up to heaven on the censer of the Great High Priest who offers Himself on that altar. I may be at the other *end of* some large church, and not able to catch even a *whisper*. What then? My intention is as firmly united *with the act* of the priest, as if I were kneeling at his *elbow*."

John (*thoughtfully*). I must say, this does seem to be

ritual religion, because it is the heart and the inward *th* that are mainly concerned. But I know what our ar would say.

Priest. And what?

John. He would say, the *understanding* had as little to with it as the ears themselves.

Priest. Your vicar would say wrongly. If you could ve seen what was passing within the minds of my poor ople on Sunday morning, you would not say so either. ıey all came, depend upon it, with a very intelligent nse of what they were about; bringing their own special tentions, and uniting them with the Divine Sacrifice at ıich they were assisting.

John. Their own special intentions, sir?

Priest. Yes; one, perhaps, came to beg Almighty God, rough the merits of His Son enthroned on that altar, to move from him some burden or anxiety under which he ıs labouring. The person kneeling next to him might be aring Mass for the recovery of a sick parent or child. A ird, in happier circumstances, came to honour the Divine ajesty and perfections, or to give thanks for our redemp-ɔn by Christ, or to pray for the souls in purgatory, or for e peace of Christendom, or the prosperity and advance-ent of the Church, or (as it was a saint's day as well as a ınday) to thank God for the graces He has poured upon is saints. The communicants, of whom you saw several ils-full, were offering up their communions with these same tentions. *All* of them, however, came to fulfil the obli-ıtion the Church lays on her children, to assist at the oly Sacrifice on all Sundays, besides some other days. ıen, as you saw, some were following Mass with their ads, some with their books, some with their own heart's ayers. Is not all this "the offering of a free heart," bjected to God, and therefore tasting the truest liberty in votion? Is it not the variety amid unity by which the ıurch, as a wise and watchful mother, consults for the rious dispositions of her children? And is it not some-ing very different from bringing a whole congregation ;ether, and making them all listen to one unvaryir m—*the* same on Good Friday as on Easter Day—ab

"the Scripture moving us in sundry places," and all the rest of it? Mind, I do not wish to laugh at any man's religion; but I must observe, that the one system has all the elasticity and life of a Divine creation, and the other is as stiff and wooden as any thing that man ever hammered together. I have forgotten to say, that among the intentions which my good folks bring to Mass, a favourite one is the conversion of those who are not Catholics. Who knows but some of those who were near you, were praying all the while that *your* eyes might be opened to the truth before it is too late?

Well, do not answer me now. But if you wish to hear more of these things, you can come to my house this evening, after rosary and benediction are over; unless, indeed (for as I came by the hedge, I could not help hearing the last words spoken to you before we met) you are going to the vicarage. So, good day to you, my friend. (*Priest goes.*)

John (*very slowly*). The vicarage? Why, no. I think, if I go any where after my work, it won't be to the vicarage.

NOTE. For a more detailed explanation of the doctrine of the great Sacrifice of the Mass, see Tracts Nos. 24, 26, 30, Extra I., and 61 in this series.

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A FEW WORDS ON THE CONFESSIONAL.

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A Few Words on the Confessional.

THAT dreadful name! Who has not heard of it? What Protestant has not had the lesson duly inculcated on his mind from his earliest youth, that of all the practical abominations of Popery, the confessional is one of the worst? Many, perhaps, of those who read these pages, have grown up with the fixed idea that the confessional was an invention of the crafty monks of the middle ages, continued by their no less crafty successors in modern times. "It was their receipt of custom, where they sat minting money out of the sins of their penitents. The wealthy transgressor, who could afford to come down handsomely, was let off on easy terms; he was the great hornet or drone, breaking through the spider's web. But woe to the weaker flies that get entangled there! No mercy for them. The lean and hungry priest-spider, lurking there in his obscure corner, fixes his fangs upon them, and drains them, not indeed of their heart's blood, but of the scanty pittance that was to keep body and soul together! The portion of the widow, the inheritance of the fatherless, the hard-won wages of the labourer and artisan, all find their way, under plea of absolution, into that insatiable grasp. Oh, the confessional was a choice invention of the priesthood! No wonder they strain every nerve to uphold it."

Then, too, there are other darker and more iniquitous charges, lending their aid to build up that towering Protestant tradition which denounces the confessional, without really knowing aught about the matter. All writers and declaimers, from the Reformation downwards,—heads of families, quiet country gentlemen, pulpit-orators, and what not, have said the same thing for some three hundred *years; they* say it to-day, and will say it again to-morrow. *And thus,* armed with this great tradition as with a wide

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Great New Street and Fetter Lane.

A Few Words on the Confessional.

T dreadful name! Who has not heard of it? What estant has not had the lesson duly inculcated on his l from his earliest youth, that of all the practical abo- itions of Popery, the confessional is one of the worst? y, perhaps, of those who read these pages, have grown ith the fixed idea that the confessional was an invention ie crafty monks of the middle ages, continued by their ess crafty successors in modern times. "It was their pt of custom, where they sat minting money out of ins of their penitents. The wealthy transgressor, who l afford to come down handsomely, was let off on easy s; he was the great hornet or drone, breaking through pider's web. But woe to the weaker flies that get en- led there! No mercy for them. The lean and hungry t-spider, lurking there in his obscure corner, fixes his s upon them, and drains them, not indeed of their t's blood, but of the scanty pittance that was to keep and soul together! The portion of the widow, the itance of the fatherless, the hard-won wages of the rer and artisan, all find their way, under plea of ab- ion, into that insatiable grasp. Oh, the confessional a choice invention of the priesthood! No wonder they n every nerve to uphold it."

Then, too, there are other darker and more iniquitous ges, lending their aid to build up that towering Pro- nt tradition which denounces the confessional, with- really knowing aught about the matter. All writers declaimers, from the Reformation downwards,—heads milies, quiet country gentlemen, pulpit-orators, and not, have said the same thing for some three hundred ; they say it to-day, and will say it again to-morrow. *thus, armed* with this great tradition as with a wide

mouthed blunderbuss, the Protestant fires boldly into the dark, hit or miss; and having first settled in his mind what the confessional *has* been, *must* be, and *shall* be, concludes by force of an unanswerable logic what it *is*.

We also have our notions of what it is. And one thing we would venture to remark; that they who have never entered a confessional are not quite so likely to be acquainted with it as those who have. The Hindoo subjects of the East India Company believe the Company itself to be a mighty Begum, or princess, sitting enthroned in Leadenhall Street. Half the globe lies between them, and they have no adequate means of correcting their judgment. Protestants live side by side with their Catholic neighbours, and meet them daily in the common intercourse of life; and yet, strange to say, they surround themselves with an atmosphere of prejudice as thick and blinding, though as unsubstantial, as a London fog, that prevents their seeing whereabouts their neighbours stand, and deadens the sound of their voices when they would address them. Hence it is, that on our present subject, as on so many others of Catholic interest, the great body of intelligent educated Englishmen entertain notions as groundless and extravagant as those of the Hindoo regarding the princess in Leadenhall Street.

For what, in truth, does a Protestant see, and what can he ascertain, of the confessional? He wanders into some church in Italy, we will imagine, and a scene presents itself to his astonished eyes and curious mind, to the meaning of which he has but little clue. It is getting dusk, on a Friday or Saturday evening, or on the eve of a festival. The old church looks more solemn and mysterious than ever in that gloom; its arches and pillars soar away into the darkness overhead. No light but the last beams dying on the antique glass of those narrow windows, or a few lamps burning here and there at some of the altars, including one that glimmers suspended before a large crucifix, round which *a few poor* women are kneeling and saying their beads. *Why all this gloom* and mystery? Simply, my good friend, *because these* poor people have been hard at work all day, *and are now* dedicating just that portion of their time which

your village gossips would employ upon tea and scandal, to examining their consciences, and preparing for their communion to-morrow morning. Besides, they are anxious to let as brief a time as possible elapse between the Sacrament which is to cleanse and the Sacrament which is to feed them; they desire to present themselves at the altar to-morrow with their souls clothed in the "fine linen, clean and white," unsoiled, if that were possible, by the slightest return to even a venial unfaithfulness to the vows they are renewing before that crucifix. Therefore they come for confession as late as they well can, and they will come for Mass and Communion as early. And you, dear Protestant, must be up betimes if you would see them communicate; or we shall put you down as one of those superficial tourists who lounge into our churches when morning wanes into mid-day,—long after the early Masses (each with its little band of faithful communicants) have been said, and then go home and solemnly assure your neighbours, and write a book to prove, that the people in Catholic countries never receive the Holy Communion.

But let us walk up the church; for we have not yet seen the confessional itself. There stands the dreaded object,—a wooden structure, some eight feet high, divided into three compartments. In the centre one sits the priest: you can still distinguish him in the twilight, with cassock and surplice, *beretta* and purple stole. He is putting his ear to a grating, or rather plate of metal pierced with small holes, in the partition-boarding that divides the centre of the confessional from the side-places where the penitents kneel. A similar grating, now closed up by a small wooden door, is at the other side of his sentry-box. When he has finished with the confession of the penitent on one side, he will close the small door covering the grating of that side and open the other. For on either side kneels a penitent; the one actually confessing, the other waiting and preparing.

Now, then, is the time for conjecture! What have these people to say to the priest, and what says the priest to them? That middle-aged hard-featured woman on the one side, *is she* come just to shuffle off a week's-worth or *month's-worth* of petty cheatings and abusive langua

with whatever else may make up her story, and then go away to run up a fresh score? And for that young and innocent-looking creature whose turn is to come next, can I be sure that, in all the cross-questionings which I find put down in the manuals for confessors, she may not be learning more evil than she is come to tell? That elderly man kneeling a few paces off looks like a small tradesman. Will he have to leave off sanding his sugar and loading his scales, if he frequents this confessional? Ah, here comes a swarthy peasant from the country, with beard enough to furnish forth a captain of banditti. A medal and a scapular are round his neck. Does he wear them as a charm against the carbines of the mounted police? And is he come to confess half-a-dozen murders, and going straightway back to commit half-a-dozen more?

So questions the Protestant, perplexed and anxious, as he sees penitent after penitent rise up from the right hand or the left of the confessional, leave their places for others to occupy, and walk with noiseless step to kneel before some of the altars of the church, and say the prayers that have been assigned them for penance, and make their act of thanksgiving. He cannot but acknowledge to himself the solemnity of the sight, and the air of reality and (what may be called) religious *business* that pervades it. These people are evidently thinking of nothing but their own spiritual concerns, and are in earnest about them. They take no notice of him, as he walks about, staring at the pictures or the stained windows; except, perhaps, to put up some little prayer for him, that, "stranger and foreigner" as he is, he may be brought one day into the great family, and under the power of Sacramental grace. And now we will put into a few words what any one of them might have answered him, if he had taken the trouble to question them about the proceedings of the mysterious confessional.

You have then, my good friend, an impression that Catholics are subject to a system of the most prolonged, *minute, painful*, nay, revolting system of cross-questioning, *whenever they* come to seek the pardon of their sins. It is *in your ideas* such an ordeal as must not only excruciate, *but debase* and vitiate the minds that are exposed to it; and

to prove the point against us, you hold up on your platforms and in your drawing-rooms the works of our authorised writers on moral theology; you turn to special subjects, note down the pages, and then face us with a triumphant air, as though we *could* find nothing to say with such a terrific array of passages witnessing against us. A solemn sense of duty nerves you to mention in English what was written in Latin for the guidance of the priest; or, with still more damaging effect, you profess yourself incapable of sullying your lips and wounding the ears of your audience by the recital. And then, after quoting, or hinting, you are only astonished that very shame of countenance does not drive us from our place. "Retreat," you seem to say; "retire, priests and people of a debasing creed and yet more debasing practice! Find your home, your dupes and victims, among the degenerate populations of the south. Pour these minute lessons of graduated crime into the ears of the sons and daughters of Italy or Spain: my hearth at least shall be kept pure and free."

Softly, and for once do not refuse to examine. I am not going to follow the casuists into their definitions or distinctions. You would not wish me to do so, any more than I should wish it myself. But let me tell you another thing: *none would have intended it less than those casuists themselves.* They did not write for you or for me. It was their duty (and faithfully, though reluctantly, they have performed it) to instruct those on whom lay the heavy burden and responsibility of deciding "between holy and profane," and teaching God's people to discern "between clean and unclean."* You seem, dear Protestant, to forget that the very idea of confession includes a *statement* of sins, both as to nature, number, aggravation, and relapse; and that such a statement, if not sufficiently made (whether from ignorance or inadvertence, or whatever other cause) must be *elicited* by questions. To suppose the Sacrament of Penance administered without occasional questions, is to suppose its more than occasional nullity; and to suppose an indiscriminate approach to the altar without previous confession, is a prospect which a little meditation on the natur

* Ezech. xliv. 23.

of sin, and of the transcendent sanctity of the Gift received by the communicant, renders frightful to contemplate.

We say, then, either bar from the sinner all approach to the Bread of Life, or prepare him by previous confession. And if it is to be such a confession as shall indeed cleanse and heal his soul, let it be more than the vague general acknowledgment of sin provided (for example) by the Book of Common Prayer, in which the saint, all but touching on the threshold of Paradise, might take his part with the wretch whose dark crimes have prepared him for the abyss of hell. Let it be a confession full, distinct, particular; not the assertion that a fallen nature needs remedy, but an exposure of the *individual* ulcer and sores. Let it be a confession, not of humanity in the abstract, but of A B, or C D, with such and such a character and predispositions, such and such antecedents and present remainders of sin,—placed in this circumstance of disadvantage or that trying occasion, or acting under a practical doubt, or unable to strike the balance between opposing claims or comparative evils. Let it be the confession of one who feels that he has before him a duty touching his *own* soul, as distinct from the souls of his fellow-men,—a duty, not graceful, as a general acknowledgment of imperfections might be, but plain and humiliating, as is the detail of one's own unvarnished weaknesses and grievous falls. Let this be made in a spirit of *faith*, that believes in the all-sufficiency of the atonement on the cross to wash away the blackest sins of a thousand worlds, and the unerring certainty with which the merits of the Redeemer's Blood are applied to every rightly disposed soul in the Sacrament of Penance. Let the sinner come in *hope* that by the Divine faithfulness, pledged to him on his true repentance and use of the means ordained, he may appropriate to himself all the promises of pardon, and grace to help in future trials. Let him come in *love*, however poor and inadequate; love that is teaching him to detest his sins as so many offences against an Infinite Goodness, and therefore rousing him to effectual *contrition* for them, and a hearty *resolution*, by the help of Divine grace, to avoid all the occasions that have hitherto betrayed him into sin. Let him, with these motives, come, in entire confidence that what he

ɔers into the ear of the priest is committed to a more lable secrecy than if it were drowned in the Pacific n,—that the confessor must sooner allow himself to ɪrn limb from limb than breathe the slightest hint of ;s even remotely affecting the recital. Let him know the priest sits there not as man, nor receiving his peni- ɜ tale of sorrow merely as a sympathising friend, nor ving his doubts as an able theologian and nothing ', nor showing him the remedies for sin simply as 'son of sanctity and spiritual experience, whose own ɪph over temptation has taught him how best to reach . a guiding hand to the support of feebler steps. But he penitent whom we are supposing recognise in the nal to which he draws near, the immediate appointment delegated authority of the Most High; let him look ɪe priest who sits there as invested by the Lord Himself the awful yet most gracious power of the keys, to bind loose in His name; and let him be prepared to hear accept the counsels fitted to his peculiar case, the rules ɪvoiding such falls in future, and the penance imposed ɪtisfaction for the past, as coming to him with all the ɪr of that which is at once a promise and a command, : that heareth you heareth Me."

'onfessions, such as we have here tried to sketch, are ɛ made daily, hourly, to the priests of the Catholic ɪch; and we might fairly ask a plain question of any one really believed in the gift of the keys as the gospels ; before us, whether he could bring himself to think a gift so distinct and peculiar (if really given at all) ɪt only the power of declaring in a general way that ghty God pardoned the penitent, or of confirming that ɪration by the words of Scripture. Any educated per- it is plain, could bid the congregation in the Commu- Service of the Established Church "hear the com- ble words" which contain that promise, just as well ɪe minister; only the propriety of conducting the ce in an orderly manner would make it inexpedient. this cannot be the gift of the keys: it must be some- ; *quite* beyond and apart from this. We are supposing *testant* to feel that the awful power has really be

committed by God to man, as God Himself has declared; and the plain question we wish to ask him is: Can you suppose such a power to be exercised without the priest's *knowing* the state of the penitent's conscience? Or can he ascertain the state of that conscience without going into detail, and (if need be) asking questions? Otherwise, how completely must he be firing into the dark, with a kind of hit-or-miss imprudence! What random and ruinous work for souls, what blind leading of the blind, what daubing with untempered mortar! Only take for a moment the parallel case already alluded to—the science of medicine. Very distressing inquiries have frequently to be made by the respected family physician, and made of those in whose case we should most shrink from the idea of having them made at all. What, then, renders such an idea even tolerable? Simply and solely *the absolute necessity of the case.* Without ascertaining his ground, and ascertaining it fully and distinctly, his science would be a blank, and you would not get him to risk either his own professional character or the life of his patient upon any insufficient guess-work or mere likelihoods. Such being the case, we acquiesce, even as regards those who are nearest and dearest to us. Health is a jewel; and though we had much rather there were no necessity for consulting the doctor, yet as the necessity exists, the doctor is consulted. It never enters our heads, therefore, to get up public meetings,—to come upon the platform and denounce all the medical practitioners in London or in England for simply doing their duty. We do not bring forward an array of the books they have studied to acquire their knowledge, nor enlarge upon the hatefulness of a course of dissection in the medical schools, and the deteriorated tone of mind it must induce in the practitioners. Good sense keeps us from all this; for we see at a glance how easy would be the reply. Our next-door neighbour, be he who he might, would answer at once,—My good friend, as long as we have these mortal bodies, with "all the ills *that flesh is* heir to," we must submit to take advice when *they are out* of order; and, far from quarrelling with the *physicians,* or abusing medical science, you ought to be glad *that the* science has been invented, improved, tested, and

brought to a system; and grateful, moreover, to those who undertake an office which must often be nearly as painful to themselves as to their patients.

Now equally, or rather much more, is this the case with regard to the confessional. It will be plain to any one who takes the trouble really to *think*, instead of joining a popular clamour, that if souls are to be treated at all, they must be treated on a system, and with a knowledge of particulars. You would not give port-wine and quinine to a patient in a burning fever, nor would you bleed one who was suffering chiefly from exhaustion. A tertian ague is not usually treated like chronic inflammation, though both are intermittent; nor delirium tremens like neuralgia, though both are on the nerves. How then is my case sufficiently provided for, if I am of a scrupulous turn, and have a spiritual dose administered to me which is just the corrective for a lax and rather obdurate conscience, but which only aggravates my symptoms? or if I am hot-tempered, and light upon a counsel that was meant for the over-placid and indolent? or inclined to excess at my meals, and am taught that one should moderate indiscreet austerities? All this is carrying into spiritual things the fatal mistake which the apothecary's boy makes in temporal things, when he sticks the wrong label on the wrong bottle, or leaves the wrong bottle at the wrong door. And yet it is the necessary result of trying to prescribe for the soul's need without a system of moral theology *individually* applied.

For, ask any zealous Protestant clergyman whose duties have led him much among the poor and ill-instructed, or among the timid and scrupulous, of whatever amount of education. He will tell you how often he has had to remove (or try to remove) the most fatal ignorance and the most distressing alarms from the minds of his flock: ignorances that have been doing them a mischief, ay, during long years of their lives, unsuspected, and therefore unremedied. Persons of devout life, really desirous of loving and serving their Lord, are tormented and hindered by *the idea (e.g.)* that they have committed the unpardonable *sin. It robs them* not only of peace, but of energy in well

doing and faith in prayer: it seems to come in like a chill cloud between their souls and all perception of the Divine love. Their minds rest upon some one or more sins of their past lives, which may seem to them to have been so deliberate, committed against such light, and with such special aggravation, that they cannot but give a verdict against themselves.

We are neither exaggerating nor speaking without some experience, when we say that such dreadful and depressing states of mind may weigh down the spirit for years, like a disease preying upon some vital organ of the frame, and making sure advances, because no aid has been called in to its relief. And when at length the intolerable agony of such a secret, no longer to be suppressed, forces the avowal (we cannot term it confession) to a minister of religion, perhaps when the best years of life are gone and the best energies of the spirit have been sapped; or on the very death-bed—what does the Protestant system supply to combat the deep-seated disease? It can but point to passages of holy Scripture, which the sufferer is unable to appropriate to himself because they are counterbalanced by the other texts, which are the very foundation of his alarm. Or the minister speaks in general of the Divine mercies; but what is such a declaration, as an off-set against the *personal, individual* fear? What is it to me to know that there is a paradise, if when I would approach it, the flaming sword, turning every way against me, guards the entrance? All such saying 'peace, peace,' where there is no peace, is but a cruel mockery, as holy Scripture itself describes it to be.*

But now take the Catholic under similar distress. First, it is by no means so likely that he would find himself thus. From his earliest years he has been catechised in the true nature of sin. He has been made aware of the difference between mortal and venial sin;—not that he may remain at ease under the commission of venial sins, or forget *that they tend* to mortal, but that he may know *something of his* present position in the covenant of grace, and *not lie* under the dreadful apprehension of being without,

* Jer. vi. 14, viii. 11.

by God's mercy he is still within. Then again, he own, ever since he learnt his catechism, what is the y-appointed remedy for sin, and where he can find under his doubtfulness as well as strength against tions. He knows where to find the Gospel *indivi-l* to him; its precious promises, its warnings, its al rules, applied to his own case. And in the very ings of such a state of mind, he could at once have o his spiritual physician, without waiting till the had gained head. Under the seal of an inviolable r,—not merely the secrecy of honour, sympathy, or trust, but such as bears the image and superscrip-the Heavenly King, and is impressed by the divine f a Sacrament, that vexed and tempted soul makes all its state. There is no reserve, for it is a super-l act. There is no shrinking which grace does not him to overcome; for it is anticipating the future al of the justice of Christ by the present tribunal of mpassion. He details, not only his present distress e sake of relief, but all its causes, antecedents, ac-niments, in order to a permanent remedy. It is the ete unbosoming of the pent-up sorrows of a solitary which could not be adequately provided for by the st and most tender treatment of earth, and therefore with a truer sense of the fulness of the relief afforded aven. He learns to distinguish between what was r a vexation from the enemy, and might safely be ed, and what was a temptation to be guarded against, all to be repented of. He learns, by the aid of a et and charitable guide, the dominant fault of his haracter, so as to attack the evil at its root. And he the confessional with the lightness of one who has e burden of some crushing weight removed from his lers; with the comfort of having submitted the diffi-of his own case to a treatment of tenderness and t skill; and with the peace resulting from the cou-y which he has gained a victory over his pride, re-and hardness of heart.

, *let those* who have never experienced these things, e *believe those* who have! Say that confession has

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igh practice, a fair average are afflicted with such horrible isorders, or are going to submit to such terrific cures? 'ou are suffering from indigestion, or have the remains of nfluenza, and you knock at his door. You would certainly e shocked as well as astonished, and immediately take our leave with a low estimate of his medical skill and of imself, should he begin with, Well, sir, I suppose you ave brought me a case of elephantiasis; or, Pray, ma'am, ow long have you been afflicted with plica polonica? And et priests, men consecrated to God, whose daily lives are rayer, whose hands have that very morning lifted the potless Sacrifice toward heaven, are to be supposed habiually, and in a far graver subject-matter, to tamper with he feelings and moral condition of those who come to conult them, in a way that would not be tolerated in any eneral practitioner who ever walked the hospitals!

These are points that can scarcely be dwelt upon without that degree of indignation which makes it difficult to reat them patiently. But we wish such persons as possess that "dangerous thing"—"a little knowledge" of ur moral theology, and who quote our books just where hey chance to open them, would give themselves the rouble to read the rules laid down by the authorities followed in the confessional on the subject of "Interrogaions." Or let them turn to the solemn warnings wherevith the Doctors and Saints of the Church have prefaced heir expositions of such portions of the decalogue as exended over ground perilous to the human weakness of the tudent. They will see, if they are candid judges, that vith such a preparation of heart as is there implied, and vith the glory of God and the good of souls proposed as he simple end to be aimed at, an unholy curiosity must die n the threshold of the confessional, or live only in such ons of Eli as choose to aggravate their own perdition by n unhallowed use of sacred things, and the possible ruin f the souls of God's people.

One brief word more. Statistics would give a return of he prevalence of *insanity* in Protestant as compared with atholic *countries*. But we will not appeal to statistics: e will call in as evidences those ominously extensive luna-

tic asylums in our county and commercial towns,— mention the metropolis. It is worthy of a thought statesman or the philanthropist, whether any mean been neglected to check this fearful evil, as well numerous suicides which decimate the candidates for sion. To a Catholic, the answer would be easy: M your confessionals, and you may pull down the w your asylums. Insanity is in many cases the resu *solitary* mind. The thoughts brood and prey upon selves: phantoms of the past take every frightful because you keep the shutters tightly bolted, and no light penetrates from without to *lay* the ghost, and things in their true colours and bearings. Your system, your solitary confinement, has ended age again in madness; and you yourselves begin to s wonder. "It is not good for man to be alone:" there be a divinely-appointed channel through whicl invited to unburden his pent-up spirit, communicat unerring Truth, make known the sorrow he would endure to breathe *humanly*, and receive a super comfort and guidance through the lips of anointed what human hand shall dare to close that channel? you heal the demoniac, still his ravings, and see hin ting, clothed, and in his right mind?" Then bri to the feet of his Saviour as his Saviour has or But what is Protestantism itself but one vast solita finement: a silent system, in which souls remain up, apart, self-centered, self-destroying? Depend u Saint Alphonsus is the diviner Howard, and the tribunal of penance might go far to depopulate Bedl

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